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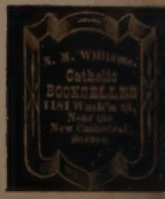

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ESSAYS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

VOL. V.

Domus Soci. Jesu —
Providentiæ

ESSAYS

ON

VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

BY HIS EMINENCE,

CARDINAL WISEMAN.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

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SPAIN.

Art IV.—1. *Revelations of Spain in* 1845. By an ENGLISH RESIDENT. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1845. Colburn.

2. *Journal of a Clergyman during a Visit to the Peninsula, in the Summer and Autumn of* 1841. By the Rev. W. ROBERTSON, Minister of New Greyfriars, Edinburgh. Blackwood: 1845.

3. *Diary of Travels in France and Spain, chiefly in the year* 1844. By the Rev. FRANCIS TRENCH. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1845. Bentley.

THESE works, and others which have come out since we made up our list, are evidences of the interest which is beginning to be felt in the state of the Peninsula. A country which, for upwards of twenty years, seems to have been but the theatre of successive revolutions, which, while every other great European nation has been enjoying perfect peace, and improving its resources, has been plunged in a series of civil, and almost provincial, wars; a country in which all the elements of society seem to have been thrown into a political chaos from which a new creation was to spring, is seen at last subsiding into tranquillity, and emerging from an abyss of disorder; after several oscillations, that have grown fainter and fainter, it seems to have

gained its upright position; order and firm government have asserted their rights, and the course of calm legislation, so long pent up or deviously deflected, has begun to flow in its proper channel. A country so situated cannot fail to interest. Under this aspect it is already visited by the statesman and the utilitarian; and its resources, infant amidst the matured or fading prosperity of other states, are being accurately measured and scanned. The railroad schemer, the mineral treasure-hunter, the bridge-contractor, have already rushed to the spot; and the Spaniards are to be treated to the inconceivable luxury of passing at once from twenty miles a day's travelling on an *arriero's* ass, or in a desperate diligence drawn by twenty mules, to flying at the rate of twice as many miles an hour, on the wings of steam. They will not have to pass through the intermediate state of expensive roads now choked with grass, and "Nimrods" and "Wonders" whirled by "blood-power" * at twelve miles an hour's speed.

But while many will be interested by Spain, as the opening market of new speculations, *our* eyes naturally turn towards it, to seek "the old paths," and we look with eagerness for every indication of its moral and religious state. And in doing so, it is not merely as Catholics, but it is as *English* Catholics peculiarly, that we find ourselves attracted to the unusual spectacle which Spain presents. Here is a country, in which, of al lothers, whatever

* A Spanish expression for "animal power."

has been cast as a reproach on our holy religion by the mouth of the calumniator, has been supposed to have grown to its maturity. Who has not heard for years of the religious ignorance of Spain? of its superstition? of its priestly domination? Who has not heard that noble country spoken of, as exemplifying more than any other, the state of abject degradation to which a people could be brought by not reading the Bible, but allowing themselves to be blindly led by designing priests? Again, and again, we have been told that its religion all consisted in outward show, that the poor were beguiled by magnificent ceremonials in splendid churches, at altars blazing with the wealth of the Indies; that their senses were enslaved, while their reason was unconvinced, and their heart insincere; that crowds of enormously rich, cunning priests, and indolent monks and friars, were leagued together with a despotic government, helped by a cruel inquisition, to keep the people in habitual delusion, and error, and thraldom. Spain was proverbially, in a Protestant's mouth, the type of the Catholic religion worked out to its consequences, and so exhibiting a melancholy picture of spiritual abandonment and abjection.

Now of a country so circumstanced, what would one naturally have predicated? Why, that take but away the outward props, and the edifice would crumble. Remove what till now has made the people seemingly religious, and the hollowness of the system will be manifested, and you will be

left with a mass of infidelity and immorality, stripped of its outward seemliness and decent covering. Well, all has been done that can be done to apply this smarting test, this actual cautery to the body of the Spanish Church. First, she has been pretty well spoiled of all earthly wealth, and left as poor and indigent as the most fervent admirer of apostolical poverty could desire to see her. All the church lands have been seized to the state, all tithes have been abolished, every imaginable source of income turned away; and a pension substituted for all—and most scrupulously never paid. Secondly, the violence of plundering foes, and the *liberal* rapacity (how ill do the two words agree!) of Mendizabals and Esparteros have succeeded each other in first harvesting, and then gleaning, the Church treasuries, to the extent of having pretty generally shorn the divine worship of its splendor, and bared altar and shrine of their pride and ornament. They have sucked up every fund for defraying the expenses of God's service, and have driven, by starvation, the priests from the sanctuary. Whatever could be done to render the ceremonial and liturgy of the Catholic Church as meagre and as mean as possible, has been thus most sedulously accomplished. Thirdly, the alliance between Church and State has been not only openly, but ostentatiously broken, by the banishment of bishops, dignitaries, and parish priests, from their diocese or country, and by measures coolly calculated to bring the ecclesiastical order into contempt.

Every religious body has been dissolved, the monks driven into the streets, and all their corporate influence destroyed. Where there may have been ten ecclesiastics, fairly provided for, to rule or bias, there is hardly one pauper curate left.

Surely here is enough in conscience to probe to the quick the soundness of faith in Spain, and to bring to proof the assertion, that externals formed the religion of its people, and outward show their worship. Who, that believed the picture drawn above of what Spain has been thought to be, would not have predicted that, by this time, the people would have been found godless, their clergy powerless, and their worship deserted? Who, of such a mind, would not have expected that the few who remained still attached to the desecrated altars of their fathers, should have to be sought at the gates of ruined churches, wailing, like Jeremiah, that the ways of Sion are made desolate, and that none came to her festivals?

But, thanks be to God, it is not so. And we really believe it will be a relief to many Catholic hearts to hear so. For, though we will not presume to think, that any one who bears that name would have used such terms as we have put into a Protestant mouth, yet are we obliged to fear, from much we have often heard, that, even among ourselves, prejudice had crept in, and usurped our judgments, upon that great and generous country; which gave us shelter in our day of distress, and provided us with the means of educating, for cen-

turies, that clergy which, in spite of the rack, the gallows, and the quartering-knife, kept true religion alive in England. Not a few Catholics would have gone to the very verge of the language which we have imagined, or would, at last, have feared that it might contain some truth.

On our part, however, we should, from the beginning of the great religious struggles in Spain, have rejected the idea with scorn. Perhaps early and vague impressions, mingled with the recollections of childhood, which nothing had been able to efface, may have brought it home to our conviction, that faith and deep religious and moral feelings were there solidly implanted; and this consciousness may have repelled from our minds the insinuations and charges which we so often heard against the religion of Spain. Or, it may be that such evidences as chance threw in our way, all went to give the lie to the traveller's or apostate's tales, concerning clergy and people. We have seen the exiled religious of Spain, when first the decree of suppression was issued, joining the communities of other countries, and everywhere edifying by the strictness of their discipline, and the holiness of their lives. We have seen its banished clergy in the towns of France, penniless and starving, yet living in small communities, reciting devoutly the Divine Office in choir, and leading quiet, inoffensive lives; ready for any good work, and exemplary in the discharge of every duty. We have seen the hardy youths of Catalonia crowding

the decks of the Mediterranean steamers, returning cheerful from Rome, whither they had repaired without scrip or purse, to obtain that ordination, which the banishment of their own bishops, or the doubtful jurisdiction of intruded administrators of vacant sees, or the prohibition of an infidel government, prevented their procuring at home. We have seen the bishops, driven from their churches by the revolutionary scourge, make themselves revered for their learning, their virtues, and their unflinching courage. In fine, we have seen many of the laity of Spain, and among them youths of birth and education, firmly attached to their religion, and zealously practising its obligations, when far from home. With such chance-evidences before us, as well as by pretty regular attention to the religious periodicals of that calumniated country, we have ever watched its religious crisis with an eye of hope; we have disbelieved, with unwavering constancy, the reports of all newspapers, "own correspondents" (a race which, with some few honorable exceptions, every continental government might with safe conscience banish); and have gleaned consolation and confidence from the remembrance of the issue of every great contest between Catholic principle and the tyranny of states.

They are our views of the result of this combat, and of its accompanying storms and terrors, that we wish to lay before our readers; and, not only our views, but the grounds on which we have

formed them. We may be naturally expected, in the first instance, to say something of the works before us, in reference to our subject. Two of them are by clergymen, representing the two poles of Protestantism,—the Anglican, and the Scottish Presbyterian. Each displays his qualification of Reverend on his title-page; and each clearly intends his work to be the manifestation of Gospel views, and of a holy horror of Popery in connection with Spain. They express the triumph of self-contented private judgment over a church and religion, which they can neither understand nor comprehend.

Our Anglican tourist sadly deceives us by his title-page—"Diary of Travels in France and Spain, chiefly in the year 1844." In reality, the "Travels in Spain" consist of a few days' excursion across the Pyrenees, as far as Pampeluna. In the preface to the work, we are carefully informed that the clerical character of the author is to be impressed on every page. He has travelled to make himself acquainted with the state of religion—the *Romish faith*—in France; and, apparently, his "sense of responsibility for time, attention, and interest, attached to one occupying the position of minister," which forbade his having any other object on one side of the Pyrenees, would not allow a change of principle on the other. Now we will undertake to say that, on his return from both countries, he knew considerably less of what he went to learn, than he did when he started. For

really, ignorance is more akin to true knowledge than false—positively false—notions are. A man, who knows nothing about Mussulmen, knows more than one who thinks them Christians. And Mr. Trench would truly have been better off for acquaintance with Catholics, had he remained in blissful ignorance at Freehills, than he is now, after carefully picking up so much nonsense and so much untruth, in his travels in two countries. We do not mean to impeach his character; for he really seems a most amiable, well-meaning gentleman. He dedicates his work to his wife; and seems always easily pleased and satisfied—save, of course, where religion is concerned—and ever ready to see the fair side of men and things, except in Popery. But, should any one turn to his pages, expecting to find the smallest imaginable amount of information respecting the religious condition of Spain or its people, he is doomed to inevitable disappointment. Mr. Trench thinks, no doubt, that he is discharging "the responsibility for time, attention, and interest, attached to one occupying the position of a minister," by giving away Spanish Testaments and tracts, as he travels through a small section of the country. Having distributed "those Testaments and a few tracts," he thinks he has ascertained that "facility now exists there of *dispersing* [*sic*] the Word of God!" (Vol. ii. p. 72.) But surely, we need not expect to learn much of the state of religion in that vast, and almost mysterious country, from the diary of

clergyman, however amiable, who thinks he is doing apostolic work, by driving into it a party of young ladies, in a pony phaeton—even though the ponies were grey, and the phaeton built by Mr. Cole, of Fareham!*

The Presbyterian clergyman may be naturally expected to look with even less favor upon Catholic Spain. He is, indeed, "led to hope that he has one recommendation to the favor of a certain portion of the public, beyond what is possessed by the generality of tourists, viz.: that he has endeavored to look on everything *with the eye of a minister of the Gospel of Christ.*" What this "eye" is, we are at a loss to discover; unless we are to judge from passages in his book, which we should be sorry to quote. Such is one in pp. 31, 32, which begins with a solemn appeal to the Deity, about the religious state of Spain, in these terms:—

"O Lord, how long? How long wilt thou suffer tyranny and priestcraft to exclude the Gospel and *Gospel ministers* (!) from this sinful land? Arise, Sun of Righteousness, with healing on thy wings!"

and goes on, after a few lines, in a strain of worldly levity, which would have secured to any Spanish clergyman, had he written it, suspension, or severe reprehension from his bishop. The "eye" of the "Gospel minister" seems to have

* We should have hardly noticed this work, but for its being no bad specimen of *surface travelling*, if we may use the term. As for its *Protestantism*, it is of the lowest class.

been directed to anything but spiritual objects. The whole passage, to us, is unspeakably disgusting.

Yet this gentleman, in his travels through Southern Spain, has, of course, his views on the state of religion there, and the means of improving it.

"Spain," he writes, "appears to be in a transition state. She has, to a certain extent, shaken off the yoke of Popery, without getting anything better in its place. On a country in this condition, how powerful might be the influence of a faithful and energetic Christian minister at Gibraltar, who should be disposed to assume the aggressive as well as the defensive,—to be a missionary as well as a pastor!"—P. 180.

Again:—

"I have said that Spain is in a transition state. It is obvious, from the conversations I have had with those who are acquainted with the state of the country, that an important change in the religious views and character of the people is in process. This change had begun to show itself before the abolition of conventual establishments, and the recent appropriation of part of the patrimony of the Church. These innovations have, however, done much to shake the already tottering fabric of superstition, and to overthrow the already decaying influence of the Romish priesthood. No one can enter Spain now without being struck with the discrepancy betwixt his preconceived notions of the superstitious reverence of the Spanish lower orders for the mummery of Romanism, and the actual state of the fact. I am not acquainted with any part of Europe, in which Popery is acknowledged, where less reverence and devotion is to be observed among the common people in their religious ceremonies; and it is notorious that many superstitious observances have now quite disappeared. Am I gratified at this? I acknowledge that I am. Not that I am prepared to

maintain that no religion at all is in itself better than Popery; but because, while the influence of the priesthood over the minds of the people remained unimpaired, the introduction of the Bible generally into Spain was almost hopeless. A new era in the religious history of the Peninsula has begun. Spiritual despotism—the most dangerous enemy which the truth has to encounter—is no more; and civil despotism is quite incapable of excluding the Bible entirely from the land. Now that the anathemas of the priesthood are disregarded, the people are eager to receive the word of God, and experience everywhere proves that where a people are desirous of welcoming the light, not all the most stringent regulations of the most bigoted and tyrannical of despotisms can keep them altogether in darkness."—P. 185.

His remedy is as beautiful as are his premises:

"Wherefore, if the eye of the Christian tactician carefully surveys the hitherto impregnable defences of the man of sin in Spain, he will not fail to perceive that a wide and practicable breach is already made. Up then, soldiers of the Cross! Eternal honor to the man, be he Episcopalian, Wesleyan, or Independent, who shall first mount the breach with the sword of the Spirit in his hand! Eternal honor to the man of God, who shall first preach the truth of Jesus in Madrid!"—P. 188.

Such is the information which a person desirous to know the religious condition of Spain is likely to get from travellers who pretend to have expressly made it their study. Their own fanatical views are the medium through which they see, and there is not even an attempt at reasonable investigation. Mr. Robertson's notions and hopes on the subject are completely belied by facts alluded to by himself, to which we may have occa-

sion later to refer. We shall certainly look no further into him for information.

The "Revelations of Spain" have a much more substantial claim to notice. They are the clever production of a person well acquainted with the late history, the social peculiarities, and the national characteristics of Spain. There is much vigor and much truth throughout the work. But, though it will be of use to us in many respects, it would be but a poor guide in our present research: for it is only incidentally and indirectly that the religious condition and prospects of Spain are mentioned. The author too is a Protestant; and, though he is clearly fond of Spain and its people, it is useless to expect from him, or any such, access to many sources of information, which a Catholic alone can possibly reach, understand, or apply. The religious condition of any nation must be estimated by a variety of considerations. One, for instance, is the adherence of the people to the doctrines and practices of their faith, and the love which they feel for it. Now who but a Catholic can truly understand the relative value which these possess, and the scale of importance in which they stand? Is any but a Catholic likely to inspire the bishops or higher clergy with that confidence which will lead to their opening to him their knowledge of their people, their own struggles, their sufferings, their views, their hopes? and consequently make him able to estimate their learning, their zeal, their constancy, their patience, and

their other qualities, in whatever measure they may possess them? Or, who again, but a Catholic, can appreciate the real value of the combat for principles which, like those of our own St. Thomas, a Protestant can hardly understand? Yet, who will be able to measure the religious prospects of a nation, without an accurate acquaintance with the virtues or defects of its hierarchy? Who but a Catholic can get to the heart of a Catholic, especially when it is suffering from the pains inflicted by heresy and infidelity—when it is shut up from the scrutiny of all but bosom-friends, through the jealousies of perilous times? Who, but one recognized as a brother, will penetrate into more secret asylums of virtue and sorrow, and gain acquaintance with the hidden hopes which may lie stored up in the fervent prayer and silent patience of the cloistered spouses of the Lamb? Nay, how seldom can a Protestant even come to know the feelings on this subject of those who will converse with him freely in society, upon politics, or the topics of the day, but feel that there is no communion between them on matters of more conscientious interests?

It may be presumptuous in us to hope that we have succeeded in this difficult task; but at least we have endeavored to accomplish it. We have had opportunities of conversing with the prelates of that country, whether exiles, or in their sees, and with the administrators of more than one vacant church: we have sought the acquaintance of

its ecclesiastics, and it has ripened into feelings of a more pleasing nature, with some distinguished for learning, virtue, and discernment: we have visited seminaries, colleges, and schools; have considered every institution of charity as deserving of minute inspection, and quite as noble a monument of a city's glory as the Alhambra, or Alcazar, and have been as interested explorers of the one as of the other; we have therefore spent hours in hospitals, asylums, orphanages, and workhouses (if the name can be applied without profanation to the refuges of poverty and old age in Spain), and other such establishments; and everywhere we have met with nothing but courtesy and a readiness to throw everything open. We have penetrated into the sacred recesses of many religious houses, and drawn both edification and hope from the virtues which we have there discovered. Finally, we have made the inquiry now before us, into the state of religion in Spain, our principal object while visiting the country under circumstances peculiarly favorable, which enabled us to converse with persons of all parties, of various professions, and of different ranks, and which put us on a footing of intimacy and familiar intercourse with many, both able and willing to give, or procure us, every information we desired.

It is the result of this investigation, so conducted, that we now proceed to lay before our Catholic readers, in hopes that it will interest them,

as it has done ourselves. Our personal researches are indeed confined to the south of Spain; but our documentary evidence will extend over the entire country: and we shall be most careful not to make a single statement without such authority, unless it be the result of personal observation. In placing these materials for consideration under the notice of our readers, it is far from being our intention to write a disquisition on the subject, or to give a methodical and argumentative treatise. We think we shall communicate our views much better in a varied and discursive form, which may lead us into more digressions, not perhaps always needless for our purpose.

I. We have already remarked, that it would be useless to attempt a judgment upon the religious position or prospects of a Catholic country, without some data whereby to judge of the actual condition of its hierarchy. But this one element clearly resolves itself into several distinct considerations. Thus, it is of importance to know, to what character of persons we have to look for the reorganization of the ecclesiastical system; the re-establishment of seminaries where suppressed; the reformation of abuses which must have crept into the Church during so long a period of anarchy; the rekindling of zeal which must in many places have grown cool; the restoration to canonical order of jurisdiction disordered by civil interference; and not least of all, the filling by new means, the terrible chasm which the suppression of religious com-

munities has made, in the machinery for instructing, directing, and influencing the mass of the people. It is clear that the physician must be skilful indeed, who has to reset the frame, of which every limb and articulation is disjointed by the rack whereon it has been cruelly stretched, and to heal its many sores and ulcers, and cure its aching head and its fainting heart. But beyond this it is also of importance to know to what extent the people are desirous of this treatment, or value the physician's art. For if *they* have no feeling on the subject, it is clear that his labor will be heavy, and comparatively fruitless. Moreover, the government of the Church is so essential a part of her very being, that if a sense of its value be lost, we must fear that with it much else that is practically important will be gone. Thus, the just prizing of the sacrament of Confirmation would be perilled, where the episcopacy was undervalued; and conversely, the desire of that holy rite where it had been delayed, would form a test of the estimation which the episcopal order itself enjoys. A Catholic alone will fully understand this reasoning.

We must own that every means within our reach, of judging of the episcopal body in Spain at the time of the late revolutions, and, consequently, of as much of it as yet survives, leads us to form a very high estimate of its worth. One simple fact will introduce the subject, and speak more than volumes. At the beginning of last year [1844], of the sixty-two bishops who co mpose the hierar-

chy of Spain, only twelve were left in their sees. Many no doubt had perished through natural causes and old age, not a few from the hardships to which they had been subjected; but a most honorably large number were in exile, either in other provinces, or beyond the confines of the kingdom. The government, usually called liberal, had, by arbitrary measures, got rid of the Church's noble defenders. For let us *in limine* express our strong conviction, that in revolutionary governments, none are so despotic as those which call themselves liberal, and if good people in England fancy that with the downfall of Espartero there was an overthrow of liberty, they are indeed mistaken. The London citizens who feasted him, and (unknowingly) the woman-murderer Nogueras, *quem secum attulit umbram*, and thought that thereby they were paying homage to the same spirit as gave England its constitution, would think very differently if they had in themselves a taste of his policy in government, and were turned over for a time, to the administration of a Mendizabal, and the tender mercies of a Zurbano.* Yet such are the idols of our liberals at home!

* It was indeed lamentable to see how the English press took part with the last desperate attempt of this wretched man to disturb the tranquillity of Spain. He was praised as the hope and salvation of the country. In Spain his character was better known. We are unwilling to believe the tales of sacrilege related of him; those of blood can hardly we fear be disputed. One anecdote, received from excellent authority, we will record. When Espartero put to death Diego

The treatment of the bishops is a tolerable evidence of these men's principles of personal liberty. A bishop, after all, was a citizen and a Spaniard; and, according to our old-fashioned prejudices, we cannot understand a government, or minister, unceremoniously sending away, without trial, into exile from home or country, any one entitled to constitutional protection. Yet such was the treatment of these venerable men. By what is called a "*providencia gubernativa*" — that is, an arbitrary order of the government — a bishop was commanded to depart forthwith to the place appointed for his banishment, and there to remain till further pleasure. And as all the revenues of the bishopries had been seized, and the pensions allotted in their place were never paid, the exiled bishop, separated from the sympathies of his flock, was left to the charity of strangers, ignorant, probably, of his virtues and his wants. The pretences on which this treatment was inflicted were various. Some were banished for refusing to recognize the jurisdiction of an ecclesiastical junta or commission, created and invested with authority in spiritual matters, by a government decree of April 22, 1834; some for resisting the prohibition issued to them

Leon, Quiroga, Montes de Oca, and others, Galiano, now so well known as a statesman, was pursued to death by the murderous Zurbano. The mother of his intended victim presented herself to him to entreat his compassion. The ruffian's answer was: "If I can take your son, all that I shall grudge will be the value of the powder and ball which it will take to shoot him."

to ordain their clergy; some for petitioning against the suppression of religious orders; others, again, for defending the property of the clergy; and all, finally, for refusing with horror to consent to the schismatical separation, contemplated by their civil rulers, from the Apostolic See.* Such were the crimes of the Spanish episcopacy — the crimes of our Saints Anselm, Thomas, and Edmund — the crimes which had sent into banishment before them, a Gregory VII. and a Pius VII. Had the Eng-

* Pensamiento de la Nacion, vol. i. p. 25. As we shall often be indebted for valuable information to this excellent journal, we may be allowed to say a few words concerning it. Its first number appeared Feb. 7, 1844, and it has continued to be published weekly, till the present time. It consists of sixteen 4to. pages, devoted to politics (uniformly treated on great Catholic principles), to religious and ecclesiastical intelligence, and to literary articles. Its tone is calm, moderate, and grave; its style pure and elegant; its sentiments noble and fervently religious. It seems to us the very model of an ecclesiastical journal. It is under the direction of Don Jaime Balmes, a young ecclesiastic, whose great abilities, extraordinary learning, sacred and profane, and devoted zeal to the cause of God and his Church, form the admiration of all lovers of order and truth in Spain. Of some of his other works we hope to speak more at length in a future article; but we must here mention another periodical conducted by him, previously to, and with this, to which likewise we shall have occasion to refer. This is La Sociedad, in 8vo., of which the first number appeared at Barcelona, March 1, 1843, and closed with the second volume in September, 1844. [It need not be added, that a premature death soon after closed the hopeful career of this excellent priest. He is now better known in England by his work on Catholicism and Protestantism, translated into English.]

lish Church, at the unfortunate period of Henry the Eighth's reign, possessed a body of bishops as ready to suffer, and, consequently, as resolute in resisting, as the Spanish episcopacy has shown itself, we may doubt whether the faith would have been lost to our country as fatally as it was.

We cannot exactly state the number of bishops expelled from their sees; for we have no evidence within our reach as to how many may have died in exile. But the number who have survived, and lived to be restored with honor to their sees, is not inconsiderable. On the 19th of January, 1844, the government, at the earnest petition of the clergy and people of Seville, addressed a note to the holy and venerable Cardinal Cienfuegos, archbishop of that noble city, who had been in banishment at Alicante since February, 1836, most honorably recalling the decree of his banishment, and inviting him to return to his affectionate flock. It must be observed that the order for his banishment had accused him of no fault—it would have been difficult, indeed, to have placed one on his sacred head; for he is a prelate who, from his virtues and amiable character, had, and could have, no enemies. But the government of the day were about to suppress the religious orders; and they knew that, mild and gentle as he was, he would never have consented to their iniquitous designs; but would have opposed them, as became a good shepherd. He was, therefore, to be removed; and this was done by one of those *ministerial* or dic

tatorial *acts*, to which we have alluded. We shall have to return again to this excellent pastor. The same day a similar decree of recall was addressed to the archbishop of Santiago. These measures of justice were soon followed by others of a similar character. In February and all the following months, honorable invitations to return to their sees were sent to the archbishop of Tarragona, to the bishops of the Canaries, of Palencia, of Calahorra, of Placencia, and of Pampeluna (who had passed his banishment at Pau); and either then, or soon after, to the bishop of Ceuta. The bishop of Minorca, D. Fr. Juan Antonio Diaz Merino, died in exile at Marseilles, on the 16th of April of the same year. A few days before his death, he wrote to a friend at Madrid to beg a small sum of money to defray his funeral expenses; and soon after receiving it he died in holy peace. All Marseilles bore witness to the virtues which shed honor and veneration around his exile. But of his character and life more just now. Nor must we overlook the cruel ignominy with which the aged and excellent bishop of Alcalá was treated. Although upwards of eighty years of age, he was banished, or rather transported, in 1837, to an African *presidio*, or prison-fort, where galley-slaves are detained; where even the water that is drunk must be brought from Spain; where the climate is pestilential; and where he would have none of the comforts necessary at his advanced age. But the

public voice of condemnation obliged them to recall him, we believe after two years.

We have here three archbishops and eight bishops, in all eleven prelates, who have nobly borne banishment, be it remembered, aggravated by absolute destitution—rather than surrender to the wolf the sheep confided to their care, or an atom of that sacred deposit of truth, of discipline, or of religious practice, which had been committed to their custody. But though we are, at this moment, able only to record these few, the number is certainly much greater; for several had died in their banishment, before a happier era dawned on the Spanish Church. If there be any truth in the feelings which guided the ancient Church, when she prided herself upon having bishops, who, like St. Athanasius, St. Hilary, St. Chrysostom, or (to take the country of which we write) St. Fructuosus of Tarragona, or St. Eugenius of Toledo, were ready to suffer exile rather than yield one tittle to the enemies of the Church; and if she thought and felt herself strongest, when seemingly most oppressed (for *virtus in infirmitate perficitur*); nay, if the hopes of a church may be calculated by the proportion in which we find the characteristics of the Good Shepherd, as given by our Lord, marked in its chief rulers, the Church of Spain has much to hope for, in an episcopate which has so generously done its hard duty in such a crisis; and we may surely augur well of its future prospects, after it has produced, trained, and raised to dignity so worthy

a body of clergy. Nor can any set-off be well made on the other side. That some weak men may have been found in so large a number, who bent beneath the storm, is very possible. The only one who, to our knowledge, has publicly espoused the revolutionary principles, which have sent his brother bishops into banishment, is the bishop of Astorga. We have before us his pastoral, in which the authority of the state is made co-ordinate with, and even paramount to, that of the Church;* in which he is most anxious that his flock should learn to distinguish between the head of the Church and the *king of Rome*† (a term which even Pistoja did not venture to use), attributing to the latter the condemnation of a work by his uncle, Felix Amat, late bishop of Palmyra‡—a condemnation which he therefore pronounces to be of no value. Sincerely do we regret to have to mention this exception to the honorable bearing of the Spanish episcopacy; but the very exception serves to put them in a fairer light. The bishop of Astorga was made a member of the Senate.

* Pastoral del Obispo de Astorga (Aug. 6th, 1842), Madrid, p. 12.

† Ibid. p. 19.

‡ Observaciones pacificas sobre la Potestad Ecclesiastica, 3 vols. 4to. This work led to a long correspondence between its author and the apostolic nuncio, afterwards Cardinal Giustiniani, and to its being condemned by the congregation of the *Index*. The Pastoral above referred to was likewise condemned. The bishop of Astorga defended both in his Apologia Católica de las Observaciones pacificas, etc., Madrid, 1843.

Having spoken thus in general of the conduct of the Spanish bishops in the days of trial which they have passed, we may be allowed, we trust, without infringing on any sacred feeling, to say a few words of some of them more particularly. Our object, in so doing, will be not merely to make their own characters known, but likewise to show the feelings of the people in their regard. The bishop of Placencia had Cadiz assigned him for his place of banishment. Confined much to his bed by illness and suffering, we saw him laboring with his hands, together with his chaplains, for the poor, by making beads for distribution among them. He assured us that, during his six or seven years' exile, the charity of the faithful, on which he had to depend, had never failed him: and he spoke in terms of warm gratitude of the religious feelings of the inhabitants of Cadiz, who had ever treated him, though a stranger, with the utmost kindness and respect. The bishop of the Canary Islands was, fortunately for the city, banished to Seville—we say fortunately; for as the venerable archbishop himself was in exile, this learned and exemplary prelate supplied, in part at least, his absence, by giving confirmation and orders there, by his delegation. Every one who has approached him must speak of him with regard and affection; feelings which such brief personal intercourse as has been permitted to us by circumstances, entitles us to express in his regard. During his exile he published several works, which have excited general

attention. But as an important controversy respecting the course to be pursued in the ecclesiastical affairs of Spain has arisen from them, or rather, as they may be considered as the exponent of the views of a large portion of the Spanish clergy, as to the best basis for the future settlement of ecclesiastical affairs, though warmly opposed by many others equally able and zealous, we will reserve a further notice of them to another section of our present undertaking. The bishop of Canaries was summoned, during the course of last winter, to Madrid; and was there treated with the greatest consideration by the government, and returned to Seville, on his way to his diocese, full of hopes which have since been realized.*

We have had occasion to mention the bishop of Minorca; and we flatter ourselves that a few details of his character and life may not prove uninteresting; for they will serve to illustrate our position, that the hopes for Spain may be gathered from the character of her bishops. He was born at Iniesta, in New Castille; at the age of twelve he wrote Latin, both in prose and verse, with great ease and elegance; pursued his philosophical studies, with extraordinary success, at Alcalá, and having entered the Dominican order at Toledo, was sent back to the same university to complete his theology. So much did he distinguish himself

* [He has since been named archbishop of Seville, and it is a gratification to the writer to mention, that they were added together to the sacred college.]

here, that he was soon named professor of that science in the university of Avila. During the French occupation of Spain, he retired to the Havanna, where he obtained, by public competition, a theological chair; and afterwards, returning home, he held high offices in his order, particularly as prior of the celebrated convent of Our Lady of Atocha in Madrid. He became general of his order, and was consulted by many bishops in intricate affairs. He edited two large and important collections, the *Coleccion eclesiastica*, and the *Biblioteca de la Religion*. No wonder he was raised to the episcopal dignity, in the see of Minorca. Here he was the model of clergy and laity. His household was most exemplary, and he daily presided at its prayers. Every day before saying mass, he passed from two to three hours in meditation and preparation, making a severe examination of his conscience. As soon as he was raised to the episcopal dignity, he distributed all that he had to the poor, and always gave away at once whatever came in, from even private sources. Beyond his episcopal robes, his dress was the plainest and coarsest; his table was the most frugal, and its furniture the simplest; and during meals a pious book was read by one of his attendants. In the time of the cholera and of scarcity, he gave away everything, and expressed his determination to sell all the furniture of his palace, rather than the poor should want. When visiting once at a house with a friend, he observed him looking towards a pile of gold

lying upon the table, and eagerly said to him, "What are you looking at? That is dirt, nothing but dirt!" He was most affable, and accessible to all, most zealous for the beauty of God's house, but firm in repressing and correcting evil. When, therefore, he felt it his duty, in 1837, to refuse consent to the irreligious measures of the government, he made up his mind to suffer every consequence. "I do not oppose these measures," he said to one of his canons, who has recorded the conversation, "from political considerations, nor from opposition to the government. If other bishops come to different convictions, let them follow them. I have laid mine, as a bishop, before the government, and whatever sentence may be the result, I am resigned. Let them seize my temporalities, let them banish me, let them transport me,—I will cheerfully submit, and make no other defence than patience." When the order came to him to quit the kingdom and his beloved flock, he uttered not a word of complaint; but retired into France. Here he was soon reduced to absolute penury; the climate, to him severe, painfully affected his health; a cataract nearly deprived him of sight, and his hearing became very faint. But in all his sufferings he maintained the same cheerfulness of manner, and serenity of mind, patient and resigned for his Saviour's sake. Only the thought of his afflicted church, never absent from his heart, seemed to give him pain. At length serious illness attacked him; he eagerly desired to

have the last sacred rites of the Church administered to him: he received them full of faith and love. But first he solemnly declared that he left no enemy, that he pardoned all, and begged, himself, forgiveness from his flock, desiring that his diocese should be written to for this purpose. After having been thus strengthened and consoled, his attendants approached to wish him joy, and he received their congratulations with evident delight. "How do you feel now?" asked one of his faithful followers. "Ah!" he replied, "I am looking forward eagerly for the happy moment!" A few hours before his death, he asked for the picture of the Blessed Virgin, which hung over his poor bed, and as he pressed it to his lips, a stream of tears gushed from his eyes. At length he took leave of his confessor, saying, "I go—I go to heaven!" and calmly in his seventy-second year, gave up his soul to his Creator. He died, as we have said, at Marseilles, on the 16th of April, last year. His funeral there was attended by a crowd of ecclesiastics and laity, anxious to bear witness to his holy life and death. The same took place at solemn obsequies performed for him at Toulon, Madrid, and Cadiz. But when his body reached Minorca, the affliction and veneration of the people knew no bounds—all felt they had lost a friend and father. His solemn obsequies were performed at Ciudadela, his episcopal residence, on the 14th July.*

* We have extracted these particulars from the funeral

Such was the venerable prelate John Diaz Merino, one of those whom the liberal government of Spain banished from the kingdom, and considered an enemy. And thus, we may add, are there even at this day, bishops in the Catholic Church, who lag not behind the ornaments and lights of ancient times, in learning, and holiness, and zeal. And with such to guide and rule it, surely no church need despair.

We cannot have better evidence of the manner in which the people of Spain know how to value their pastors, than the behavior of Seville to its venerable cardinal archbishop. No sooner was the sentence of his banishment reversed, than the municipality of the city sent a deputation to Alicante, to entreat him to return again to his loving flock, which longed once more to receive his paternal benediction. The holy prelate in reply expressed his own most anxious and affectionate desire to be again among his children; but regretted that his health made it impossible for him to undertake so long a journey. A steamer was offered to be placed at his disposal to bring him by sea; and when it was found that this was quite impracticable, it was proposed to carry him in a litter, borne on men's shoulders, a distance of several hundred miles! Could attachment to a pastor, and fidelity to ecclesiastical government, show itself more strongly, or more tenderly than

sermon preached on the occasion, by Dr. D. José Marqués y Gener (Sermon Funebre, etc., Madrid, 1844).

this? But, alas! it was too late! Paralyzed in every limb, unable to do more than sign his name, and that in a manner scarcely legible (as more than one document, which we highly prize, couched in terms of warmest friendship, too painfully shows us), but with his head sound and clear, he continues from that distance, to direct every important affair in his diocese, and dictates long letters, remarkable for their strong sense and lucid views, as well as for their piety and zeal. Having gained back, by suit against the Exchequer, his diocesan seminary at Sanlucar, which had been seized with other ecclesiastical property, he sent to the administrator of the diocese the full plan and regulation for its restoration. Well may his spiritual children pray, as did St. Martin's, that their master's sure reward may be yet delayed, that so they may have the consolation of enjoying his example and his guidance!

Hitherto we have spoken entirely of the banished prelates. But we must not altogether omit those whom Providence has reserved from this trial, for the comfort of their flocks. We will confine ourselves to one example. Between the packet which has borne the traveller to southern Spain, when moored in the middle of the Bay of Cadiz, and the quay of that fairest of ocean-cities, it is not improbable that he may hear speak of its bishop. It has so happened to us; the boatmen who rowed us ashore mentioned his name with reverence. Nor will it be otherwise, if ever the

stranger, struck with the enchanting beauty of the scene he is approaching, seizes naturally upon one of its most striking features. A magnificent bay, canopied over by a deep brilliant sky, that is reflected in broken masses on the ever-heaving waters, stretching inwards towards San Fernando, as far as the eye can reach, looking more like one of Claude's creations than anything to be seen in a northern climate, with the one side closed in by low hills covered with a succession of villages of sparkling whiteness—Rota, Port St. Mary's, and Puerta Real, and the other shut up by the beautiful city, rising like Venice from the very water, with its bold ramparts and its shady walks, its palace-like houses, and its myriads of towers, all as clean and fresh as if only just built,—such is the first view which a traveller has of Spain, on entering it from the south. But above the towers and domes of churches, he will see one pre-eminent in size and majesty of proportions; and if he ask what it is, he will be told that is the *new* cathedral, and that the city owes it entirely to the present good and saintly bishop. Yes—strange as it may sound, while Spain has been convulsed with revolutions; while all church property has been confiscated and alienated; while the clergy have been left to starve, and the people have been ground down by extraordinary exactions to support the war; while commerce has been extinguished in Cadiz,* and every species of distress has

* Formerly there were eighty private carriages kept in

increased—this truly meek, gentle, and most amiable prelate has completed and embellished a spacious and noble cathedral, and that, as he himself assured us, without applying to a single individual for help, yet mainly by means of charitable contributions.

The old cathedral of Cadiz is but a poor and insignificant building; in form, however, resembling the Roman basilicas. At the period of the city's greatest prosperity, it was natural that a desire should be expressed to see it replaced by something more ample and magnificent. Accordingly, in 1716, one of the canons proposed to the chapter to undertake the erection of such an edifice; and his proposal was immediately acceded to. The preliminaries occupied several years, and it was not till the feast of the Holy Name, Jan. 10, 1722, that the foundation-stone was solemnly laid. The canons gave up to the work their extra fees and tithes, as well as a stated portion of their incomes; many added munificent donations, as of course did the bishops; the city contributed largely, and the faithful assisted with their alms. But wars, disputes between architects, and difficul-

Cadiz, now there are only two. This must not, however, be taken altogether as a proof of distress, as it depends much on the simplicity of Spanish manners. But the trade of the Indies is departed from Cadiz, and the gold-bearing galleons no longer moor in her bay. Still there is no sign of decay about the city, nor are houses easily found untenanted. We are glad to see that several tokens of reviving activity have lately manifested themselves there.

ties about collecting the imposts levied for the work, delayed and interrupted it; till it was entirely suspended in 1796. The appearance which the building presented from that time till 1832 was truly lamentable. Some portions were indeed groined over, but the nave was for the most part uncovered, the dome not built, the front only half-raised, and the whole edifice unguarded and unprotected. As the carved work, and marble, of the walls had been built in from the beginning, the action of the weather, and especially of the spray from the sea close at hand, and the aggressions of thoughtless or ill-disposed persons, had gradually defaced and disfigured the building, and made it look more like the ruins of an old, than the beginning of a new, church. Then came war —and it was made use of for keeping stores, and so left at the mercy of an unreflecting soldiery. In fine, part of it was let for a wood-store, while the nave was used as a rope-walk.

Such was the condition of this noble building, on which had been expended at least £258,543 14s.* when D. Fr. Domingo de Silos Moreno was named bishop of Cadiz, on the translation of his predecessor to the see of Seville, which he now so worthily occupies. And to the honor of the latter be it mentioned, that, in 1819, he made every effort, but in vain, to rouse his flock to exertion in favor of the church. At this period, "When the cathedral shall be finished" was a proverbial

* Or 24,829,796 reals.

expression in Cadiz, equivalent to the "Greek Calends." Our excellent bishop was a Benedictine monk, distinguished for his piety, who had held situations of great labor and responsibility at Madrid, and elsewhere. He had been named to a colonial see, when the American revolutions broke out, and fortunately for Cadiz, he was prevented from going to it. The consequence was, that after some delay, he was appointed to his present church. When he came to take formal possession of it, and entered, for the first time, the old cathedral, his heart sunk within him. "I had seen," so he expressed himself to us, "the magnificent minsters of every other part of Spain, and I said within myself: 'My God! is this to be my spouse —this Thy chief temple here!'" He resolved it should not be; and having, on his returning home, communicated his feelings to some of the chapter, was somewhat consoled on hearing that there was another cathedral half finished, though they held out no hopes of its ever being completed. He would not put off beyond next day his visit to it; and having entered, resolved, in his heart, that it should be finished. This was in 1825; but it was not till 1832 that he was able to undertake the work. On the 6th of January in that year, a fire broke out among the timber kept in a chapel of the unfinished cathedral, which soon almost entirely destroyed it, and perfectly calcined all its marbles and ornamental work. The injury to the building was so great, that it was found necessary

to take measures for the security of what remained. It seemed as if this accident aroused once more the enthusiasm of the public, and inspired the venerable bishop with courage to make known his long-cherished desires. He appointed a superintendent of the work, and named a commission to assist in carrying it on; and having, for the first time, taken the episcopal chair in chapter, proposed to that zealous and learned body the continuation of the building. He offered to devote to it everything that he could spare from his own income, and to live with the strictest economy; and he has most certainly kept his word. The canons on their parts promised to contribute from their own resources; and the municipality and chamber of commerce no less generously came forward with promises of assistance.

It was on the 23rd of October of that year, the feast of SS. Servandus and Germanus, patrons of the city, that the good shepherd communicated his pious intentions to his flock. His pastoral instruction on the occasion is, like his sermons, characteristically simple, straightforward, and fatherly. Indeed, his own description of his addresses, to us, is most correct. "I do not preach; I only talk to my people—they are my children, and I speak to them as a father." We cannot resist giving a translation of the beginning of this pastoral. There is no flourish of introduction in it, no round-about attempt to excite zeal; but it takes success for granted, assumes the certainty

of its proposed means. The good bishop plunges at once *in medias res*, as follows :—

"With the liveliest pleasure and delight of our heart, we announce to you a great joy—one that must be such for all men, but particularly for you who are born in this beautiful city, or have the honor of belonging to it. The new cathedral, that building rare and unique of its kind, for the admirable combination of architectural orders, and for the treasures of jaspers, marbles, and other precious stones that adorn it—that building which having wrestled with earthquakes, and the storms of its neighbor the ocean, yet stands parrying the blows of its terrible enemies, with no other defence than its solidity—after the lapse of one hundred and ten years since it was commenced, and of thirty-eight at least since a single stone has been added to it—is going to be prepared for the celebration of Divine service, and for offering to the God of your fathers that worship which they wished to render in it, at the price of so much expense, and such great sacrifices. This is the joyful news which has to move your pious hearts, and make them bound with sweet and holy gladness ; to see effected what your fore fathers so anxiously desired, but could not see. . . . . But to speak plainly : if in the days of this city's splendor and abundance, if in the days when streams of gold and silver ran through the streets of Cadiz, this work, on which 30,000,000 of reals had been spent, could not be brought to a close, how can it be prudent even to think of finishing it at a period when to ease has succeeded decay, and to riches penury, in this city worthy of a better fate ?

"Now, see in this, my dear children, the finger of God ; see the secret influences of His unfathomable dispositions."

He then proceeds to explain how he was inspired with this thought on the occasion of his first entering the old church, and details the preliminary steps taken. After this he appeals, in

the following words to the charity of his people:—

"But you will say, on what funds do you rely for so vast an undertaking, which must employ much time and many hands in the great and delicate work of a church, such as our cathedral? Where shall we find capital sufficient to finish up a building which has swallowed up so many millions [of reals], so that it shall be not unfit for His residence Who fills the universe? Where? In your fervent piety, beloved children, in your noble hearts, in your enlightened zeal for the better worship of the Author of your being, the Master of your hearts, and the Saviour of your souls! There we promise ourselves that we shall find an inexhaustible source, which will supply us with all that shall be necessary for us to enjoy the supreme happiness to which we aspire, of seeing the Tabernacle of the Lord completed." *

The good bishop then goes on to show the grounds of their duty to assist generously in the work; and encourages them, at some length, by examples from Holy Writ. He orders that chests be placed in the cathedral, and its three dependent parishes, for receiving alms for the building; and this, be it observed, was the only way in which the money was collected.

On Sunday the 11th of November, a stately procession of the chapter and clergy, having the bishop at its head, and assisted by the civil authorities, proceeded from the old church to the new, where the bishop gave his solemn benediction to the work. The crowd was immense; and the

* El Obispo de Cadiz a todos los naturales, vecinos y habitantes de la misma. Cadiz, 1832, pp. 3 and 10.

good bishop, inspired by the occasion, addressed them in his own simple but feeling manner, more calculated to move them than any studied eloquence. "It would be folly," says a spectator, to whose narrative we owe our historical details, "to pretend to conjecture what were the thoughts of those who composed that vast assemblage, or what were their sentiments as to the result of what was going to be undertaken; but we may safely believe, that the prevailing feeling of all was, that its completion was beyond hope, for so many powerful reasons palpable to all." *

But in spite of incredulity, the work commenced. The bishop was alone treasurer, committee, and in fine the very soul of the undertaking. Though at times reduced to his last dollar, the work never ceased, and Providence never failed him. His own means all went thither: his personal contributions amounted to £3,960, a large sum, which can have hardly left him enough to live upon. And the total sum collected (that included) between November, 1832, and September, 1843, amounted to no less than £22,444. And

* Descripcion Historico-Artistica de la Catedral de Cadiz, por D. Javier de Urrutia. Cadiz, 1843, p. 137. The author of this interesting little work is a magistrate of the city, and an excellent amateur artist. He is engaged on a panorama of Cadiz from the tower of the cathedral, to be exhibited for its benefit. He makes over the profit of this work to the bishop, towards whom he feels deep veneration and affection, as must every one who has had the pleasure of knowing him.

yet not a subscription-list was ever published, nor an organized system of collection followed.* We would ask if these facts do not speak volumes for the faith, the piety, and the generosity of the Catholics of Spain, even when many would have us believe, that these virtues have grown cold there, and have almost disappeared? And do they not well establish the important position, that there is a close and affectionate sympathy between the pastors and their flocks; that the voice of the shepherd is still heard with docility by the sheep; and that an episcopal body containing such men is a guarantee to the hopes of any Church?

On the 28th of November, 1843, the bishops, consecrated the church. The concourse was immense, and he could not resist addressing them. His sermon is before us, and it is truly eloquent, because every word proceeds unaffectedly from the heart.† But even since then he has continued his work. A splendid sacristy has been finished this year, and one of the lofty towers has nearly reached its completion. Whomsoever you ask in Cadiz about the cathedral, he will tell you it is entirely due to the bishop, and that without him it never would, or could, have been comple-

* We have been told that when he commenced the tower he had not above a shilling in hand. A few days before our last interview with this venerable prelate, some one had brought him 250 dollars, half of a prize won in the lottery.

† Oracion que el Exmo e Ilmo Senor D Fr. de Silos Moreno, dijó celebrando de pontifical, etc. Cadiz, 1838.

ted. All will tell you so, but one man, and that is the humble bishop himself; who, if you say a word to him about what he has done, will turn it off with a smiling "*Nada, nada!* Not at all, not at all! I have done nothing at all. It is entirely God's work; and all the honor belongs to him." We must add the impartial testimony of an English Protestant, to the unanimous suffrage of the Catholic population of the city:—

"The cathedral of Cadiz," says the author of the *Revelations of Spain*, "is finished inside, and nearly so without. It is a very noble structure, and of pure Grecian architecture. All within is jasper and the richest marbles. For the splendid aspect which it now presents, it is indebted almost entirely to the bishop of the diocese, who has devoted all his funds for many years past, beyond what was necessary for a very moderate subsistence, to the noble purpose of completing this magnificent temple. With a zeal as intense as that which raised the parent cathedrals of Europe, he has kindled sparks of the same fire in thousands of other bosoms, and is on the point of attaining a result, which not even the most sanguine anticipated,—the final completion of the edifice. I am no advocate of the institution of celibacy, but when we see such pious monuments, and learn by what means they have been raised, we cannot fail to trace a wisdom in an unmarried clergy. . . . . This excellent prelate has consecrated and opened the temple for divine service, and the Academia Gaditana de Bellas Artes, has assisted in selecting its interior embellishments."—Pp. 191, 192.

In closing our account of this most worthy prelate, we are really afraid of one misgiving concerning him arising in any reader's mind. If he is so distinguished for his zeal and virtues, how comes he to have escaped that proscription, which seems

to have selected its victims from the episcopacy, exactly by these very qualities? Our answer will justify all that we have said. The order for his banishment *was* made out; but a deputy for the city, upon hearing of it, waited on the minister who held it, and told him in few words, that "the cost of issuing it would be a revolution in Cadiz. The population would rise to a man, without distinction of party, to prevent the removal of their beloved bishop."

If we have been prolix upon this portion of our subject, let it be remembered that we have few opportunities of learning much on the state of religion in Spain, and that facts, bearing on the late and actual condition of its episcopal body, must throw much light upon the matter. But we have likewise wished (and we are far as yet from having satisfied our wish) to make somewhat known the cruel persecution which has been going on in a country so near us, from a party which we have chosen to consider as the friends of freedom, a persecution scarcely less unjust, violent, and unfeeling than that of the Czar in Russia, or Minh-Menh in Cochin-China, yet which has hardly as yet enlisted our sympathies. And we have wished, moreover, to show that, wherever the Church of Christ is doomed to suffer, she has, prepared beforehand by an All-good Providence, confessors and martyrs equal to the trial. Nor has the Church of Spain been behind her duty,

nor has she fallen below the exigences of her position.

But there is another vexation connected with the want of bishops in their sees, putting the consciences of clergy and people to a severe trial, and calculated to manifest the sound principles and steadfast attachments of both to the faith, as well as the wicked designs of the late government of Spain. We allude to the intrusion of administrators into vacant bishoprics, in violation of canon law; and to the supporting of their usurped authority by actual force.

The Catholic Church has most minutely provided for the wants of a vacant see, by vesting in the dean and chapter the power and duty of naming a vicar capitular, with jurisdiction over the diocese *sede vacante*. There are many conditions attached to this power, a want of compliance with which renders the appointment, and consequently the jurisdictions, null or doubtful, and communicates the same defect to all acts and minor authorities that have emanated from it. No one but a Catholic can well conceive the embarrassment to which consciences may be put by such a state of things, where the validity of most important sacraments, as penance and matrimony, may be rendered subject to cruelly anxious doubts. Now this has been the case in several instances, during the late vicissitudes of Spain; where the government has thrust into vacant sees persons wholly unfit by character, and has either extorted the con-

sent of the chapter so as to render the election doubtful, or forced upon them a choice *ipso facto* null by common law. We have, in several instances, collected on the spot the history of these painful outrages on law and conscience, and heard from the oppressed and aggrieved clergy themselves, the full recital of their sufferings. But such information we forbear, for obvious reasons, to use, except where we can have recourse to documents printed and accessible to others, without breach of trust. We will therefore content ourselves with one or two public cases.

The unhappy Church of Malaga seems particularly to claim our notice; because its sufferings have been considered by the father of the faithful worthy of the notice and sympathy of the Universal Church; his holiness having made it the subject of his allocution in the Consistory, held March 1st, 1841. We will not enter into particulars respecting the first intrusion, by the government, of a vicar capitular, upon the death of the last bishop, further than to say, that he was a canon of the cathedral, "*de corpore capituli*," as the canon law requires, and had at least that qualification more than his successor, of whom principally we have to speak; but that he was, as we shall have occasion to show, a man of suspicious orthodoxy, and of lax principles. His name was Manuel Ventura Gomez. He was educated in the suppressed University of Baeza, into which the works of Febronius and the doctrines of Pistoja

had too fatally penetrated, and he clearly had brought away his share of them. He was afterwards obliged to leave the kingdom for his revolutionary doctrines, and came to England; where his name, if we mistake not, will be found figuring in the reports of the Bible Society, of which he became an active member. Such was the man chosen by the liberal government of Catholic Spain, for dignity and rule. Nor is he the only refugee in England, who is governing the vacant bishoprics of that country. We shall see perhaps, just now, what sort of a theologian he was: suffice it to say, that in the spring of 1837, he vacated his office, exchanging it for that of deputy to the Cortes for Jaen! and having been, moreover, named by the government to the vacant see of that city, he died suddenly. Upon his resignation, the chapter elected their dean as vicar capitular. How he disappeared from the scene, and made room for his successor, does not appear from any of the mass of documents before us, relative to the affairs of this church; but we believe we are not wrong in stating, that owing to his having acted according to the laws of the Church, relative to the ordination of a young ecclesiastic, professed in the Franciscan order, and now an excellent zealous priest at Gibraltar, he was banished beyond the seas, and went to Lisbon, where he remained two years, with his benefice of course sequestered, though of late this has been a very nominal punishment.

To him succeeded the person whom the Government had thought proper to name as bishop elect of Malaga, Dr. Valentine Ortigosa, archdeacon of Carmona, and as such, dignitary of the cathedral of Seville—a name that will long be painfully remembered in the Church of Malaga. He seems in youth to have had his orthodoxy tried, and found wanting. For in a speech made in his defence, on the 4th of February, 1839, by the late well-known Argüelles (whom it has been the fashion in England greatly to bepraise,* and whom the papers, on occasion of his death, commended as the model of statesmen for virtue and honesty, but who in Spain is known as the father of the *Encyclopedist*, or Gallo-infidel party), that statesman spoke of Ortigosa as one whose friendship he had made, when both were under trial before the Inquisition. Of his subsequent history we know nothing, further than that he was at Madrid, an active partisan of the revolutionary government, and engaged in public duties under it, when he was named bishop elect of Malaga, by the ministry which he had served. That government, regardless of the canon law, which forbids a bishop elect (or presented) to be vicar capitular, and enjoins that he should be one of the chapter, acted upon the plan of recommending to chapters (*sede vacante*), to choose for vicars the very persons whom it had named for future bishops over them. This

* See *e. g.* Scenes and Adventures in Spain, from 1835 to 1840. By Poco Mas. London, 1845, vol. i. p. 233.

was the case with regard to Ortigosa. By a royal order, dated October 7th, 1836, the chapter was *recommended* to appoint him its vicar.

The election, if it can be called such, took place on the 17th of the month, and presents the weak point in the history of the entire transaction, in every other respect so much to the credit of the clergy of Malaga. The chapter unfortunately yielded to the dictation of power, and named him who was destined to be its scourge. "I do not undertake," writes one, who is now one of its brightest ornaments, but did not then belong to it, "to defend the chapter of Malaga, nor to declare it innocent, or free from all responsibility. That venerable body will know how to defend itself, and to allege the reasons which impelled it to take such a step; but Malaga and the whole diocese compassionate it. Well-known and public are the terrible circumstances in which it was situated on the 17th of October, 1836, when the election took place. Political convulsions had reduced them to a state of terror; *a few days before, the Junta directiva of the year had removed from their prebendal stalls, and banished from the city twenty or more of the body, in one night*, without any more trial or indictment than a simple official note, with the expression, '*We have thought proper.*' The number of chaptermen with votes was reduced to six, instead of being nineteen; and one half of those were newly come to this church; and this happened to be the first election which they had

attended. They saw themselves, moreover, invited by her majesty, the queen regent, to elect you [Ortigosa], and had evidence before them, how the government, to carry its ends, had in other churches banished whoever had evinced sufficient courage to neglect similar invitations, because they thought them wrong. Can a chapter, composed of such elements, and placed in such circumstances, be considered as the chapter of the Church of Malaga? For these reasons, undoubtedly, and for others, the whole people of Malaga is convinced that the act was null, and null whatever was granted by it, and all that springs and arises from it."* Here is, indeed, a good specimen of the freedom left to the Church for the discharge of her most important functions, by the pretended champions of that cause.

There is more than enough in these facts to taint the entire proceedings as conducted under *coaction* and undue influence. So that Don Valentine Ortigosa was clearly an intruder. He did not reach Malaga till the beginning of 1838; and was not many hours in possession of his usurped office, before he began to show his true character. After swearing "to keep and fulfil, and have observed, the statutes and laudable customs of that holy Church, and the privileges and rights of the chapter, and the honor of its individual members,"

* Respuesta a la Exposicion del Sr. D. Valentin Ortigosa. Por un Católico Romano (D. Narciso Manuel Garcia). El Reparador, Ep. i. tom. iii. Cuad. iv. p. 61.

his first act was, on the 11th of January, to appoint a layman, belonging to a secular tribunal, his official and private secretary, thereby superseding the one named from their own body by the chapter, in accordance with immemorial usage; and thus violated both his sworn pledges, of observing all such customs, and of preserving the honor of individual members of the chapter. This body most respectfully, but at the same time most firmly, protested against this usurpation of their rights, as well as against the appointment of a layman to an office which had to treat the most secret and delicate ecclesiastical and spiritual affairs. This remonstrance called for a long answer from the bishop elect, and is the first of a series of documents, which bring before us the two most prominent features of his character, as marked in his writings—the most extraordinary arrogance, and the most startling Jansenism. Papal enactments are to him so much waste paper; and he asserts the doctrine, which pervades all his other writings, that bishops receive their authority in its fulness from the Church, by mere election or presentation, without confirmation from the Holy See. So that presentation by a *lay* sovereign is enough to communicate the plenitude of apostolic power, and of ecclesiastical jurisdiction! The bishop elect immediately appealed to the civil authorities; the chapter were thus compelled to throw themselves under the protection of the crown. Nothing, we

believe, was gained; but, as usual, might triumphed over right.*

But it was not long before a far more serious cause of alarm and just indignation arose, from the conduct of this unhappy man. During the vicariate of Ventura Gomez, a certain Francisco de Paula Fernandez, formerly professed in the Franciscan order, and consequently bound by vow to perpetual chastity, applied to him to be released from his vows, and permitted to marry. He pleaded their nullity, on the ground that when he took them he was not of the age required for valid profession by the Council of Trent, and that the certificate of baptism produced at his profession was not his, but that of a brother who died when one year old; and further, that he had not acted from free choice, but under fear and compulsion from his brother already in the order. After stating these grounds, he proceeds to say (or is made to say) that dispensation from vows belongs essentially to the episcopal jurisdiction, because it belonged originally to the apostles, the fulness of whose authority every bishop inherits; and that it was only through the false decretals of Isidore Mercator, and the dark ignorance of the middle ages, that this power was reserved to the Apostolic See. And as the Church admits no petition for declaring

* Historia Documentada de las Desaveniencias entre el Imo Cabildo de la S. Iglesia Catedral de Malaga, y sus Vicarios capitulares. (Extracted from the Voz de la Religion.) Madrid, 1839, pp. 63—79.

the religious profession null and void, unless presented within five years after it has been made, unless it can be shown that, during such term, application could not have been made, when the rights of the *quinquennium* are restored, he applies to the vicar for such restoration, and for the declaration of nullity. The fiscal, or legal officer, whose duty it was to oppose the petition on behalf of the law, made a report in its favor, in which the most extraordinary theological doctrines are jumbled together with an equally gross perversion of facts. The result was, that the vicar capitular pronounced in favor of the appellant, and pronounced his religious vows null. This was on the 11th of March, 1837.

To him succeeded, as we have before stated, the dean, elected vicar by the chapter. To him Fernandez applied for dispensation from the publication of banns; and he, not satisfied about the previous decision, whereon this new application was based (and which every sound Catholic would know at once to be invalid, as beyond the powers even of a bishop, much more of a vicar,) prudently consulted the chapter on the subject. This body named a commission from its own members, to take the whole matter into consideration, and to report thereon. Their report is, in every way, a most admirable document; calm, grave, closely reasoned, and full of sound ecclesiastical learning. It begins by vindicating the course pursued by the dean in consulting the chapter; a step which

had been blamed by some. It then, step by step, investigates the cause of Fernandez, analyzes minutely the decrees of the Church on such cases, shows that they are in full force and applicable here, and how they have been violated in every particular in this instance; and pronounces the judgment given to be nothing worth. It then examines the question of fact, as to whether proof was really given of the original invalidity of the vows. It traces out the insufficiency of the evidence in some instances, and its doubtfulness in others; the suppression of documents and witnesses, most important for ascertaining the truth; and the utter falsehood of many allegations. It enters into a full examination of the false and heretical principles on which the judgment is based, and solidly confutes them; and concludes by declaring the solemn conviction of the commission, that Fernandez was still bound by his vow, and therefore incapable of contracting matrimony.

The petitioner acquiesced, and agreed to apply to the Holy See for relief; and a memorial to that effect was prepared, to be forwarded to Rome. At this conjuncture Ortigosa came to Malaga; and the ill-advised religious renewed his petition to him. The result was, a long decision *motivée*, dated January 22nd, 1838, from the vicar, consisting of sixteen heads; in which one hardly knows at which to be most astonished—his insulting trampling down of that body which he had sworn

to honor, and holding them up to public disgrace, or the bold and open tone of defiance with which he strips the sovereign pontiff of his acknowledged rights, and out-Herods Herod, going beyond even the worst disciples of the perfidious school of Jansenius. The bull *Auctorem Fidei*, to whose censures he exposes himself in every paragraph, he seems to treat with perfect contempt; and riding over every barrier, which general councils, popes, and the very constitution of Christ's Church, have placed against the schismatical independence of particular bishops, and acting further on the clearly false principle that a bishop elect has all the power of the apostles themselves, he pronounces the vows invalid, grants the required dispensation, and orders the curate of Casarabonela to marry the apostate. And not so content, he commands this insulting and heretical document to be read at the offertory of the public mass in that place.*

The consummation of this daring act of usurpation and iniquity filled all with indignation and disgust. It was not only the clergy who felt it, but the people of the city and diocese cried out against it, and their voice was echoed throughout Spain. But another occasion, apparently more trifling, brought out the poison of Ortigosa's evil principles still more palpably. He applied to the chapter on the subject of honors, wishing to know

* The entire series of documents are in the same work, pp. 4—61.

what distinctions and pre-eminences would be granted him in the chapter-house and in the choir of the cathedral. In the Church such matters are plainly defined, subject to the exemptions or usages of particular churches; and in those of Spain everything is most strictly and clearly established by long-standing custom. The chapter again appointed a commission; and, upon its report, replied to the vicar, exactly informing him of what had been always done relative to persons in his position, and what was the law of custom throughout all churches in Spain, and at Malaga in particular. This respectful answer was met by a most outrageous reply from him, as full of arrogance and of heresy as such a document could well be. After expressing his unworthiness of the post he occupies, in terms which can deceive no one, he proceeds as follows:—

"But at the same time (that the kindness of my brethren may take this into indulgent account), I must as frankly confess the weaknesses into which my genial constitution and character may most easily betray me. This is naturally active, energetic, resolute, constant; and where, after reflection, I feel the call of duty, I am vehement, and perhaps often imprudent, as far as regards my own interests. Besides these qualities which will often make me fall into defects and errors, I am very tolerant and condescending; I wish to learn from all the world: I acknowledge the superiority of every man who is accomplished in anything; I know nothing of pride or haughtiness; and because I am not even subject to temptation from them, I ingenuously publish to the world my little fitness, my unestimable qualities, and even the humble position in which I was born. There is only one happy thing which gives me joy in all the adversities of a

laborious life, one which compensates them all; never have I made myself an enemy, because I cannot be any one's enemy, nor can any one be mine. . . . . Coming now to the question, I beg to tell the chapter, that, penetrated with the thought of what the episcopacy is, and of the degradation to which it has been brought by the misfortune of our times, and having made a profound study of the authentic monuments of the primitive Church (monuments quite forgotten and unknown by the majority of people), and possessed, moreover, by an ardent desire to labor for the restoration of its high privileges, now that important circumstances of great future interest to the poor Church of Spain, so critically situated, require it, I feel myself impelled by an instinct of conscience to enter into this discussion, that so we may mutually enlighten one another, and the entire world; and, not being swayed by the spirit of either the ultramontane, or the cisalpine, school, by impracticable philosophical Jansenism, by abominable, gross, and hypocritical Jesuitism, nor by a collection of irrelevant doctrines based on contested principles, let us fix the following ones, which are essential . . . . . For our decisions are useless, the tedious annoyances and perplexities of the trivial doctrines respecting benefices (for a bishopric, without coming down to the ridiculous, cannot be called a benefice); as are tiresome quotations from the Decrees of the Congregation of Rites, or the repeated calling to mind of pernicious formulas invented in modern times, and given to be sworn without deliberation or mature examination. . . . . or the quibbles and arbitrary interpretations of a subtle scholasticism," etc.[v]

After this modest preamble, which we quoted to show the character of an Esparteran bishop elect, Ortigosa goes on to lecture the chapter on his rights, claiming all and every honor due to a

[v] Documents, p. 87. Also in a separate publication of Ortigosa's alluded to lower in the text, printed at Malaga, September, 1838, without title, p. 9.

bishop canonically confirmed and consecrated, and denying that he owes anything to them, to the pope, or to any one else.

This was on the 2nd of February, 1838. Now as Ortigosa, in all these matters, had not sought concealment, but had made his most uncatholic notions ostentatiously public, the chapter could no longer permit the scandal to continue. Recourse to Rome was impossible, and therefore the canonical step of denouncing his writings to the metropolitan the archbishop of Seville, as unorthodox, and putting him on his trial, was adopted. The government, to Ortigosa's evident disgust, did not wish to interpose in a matter purely ecclesiastical and spiritual, and the minister of grace and justice directed him, by a note dated July 27, 1838, to proceed to Seville, and submit himself to the cognizance of the tribunal of the governor or administrator of the archbishopric, during the cardinal's exile. Illness, real or pretended, detained him till next spring, when at last he proceeded to Seville. But in the preceding autumn he addressed a pastoral to the clergy and laity of the diocese, in which he pathetically told them that he was going in obedience to the order of the government, "which is paramount." In his usual boastful tone he says: "I go with the tranquillity which is secured to me by my incorruptible faith, and my pure and well-examined conscience. There, as everywhere else, most willingly before every faithful Christian, before friends, and more firmly still before enemies, I

will make profession of that faith which I received at baptism, and had strengthened, by the grace of God, in confirmation. . . . . I hope to defend myself like an Athanasius, and to come forth triumphant from this combat, into which I have been so treacherously entrapped. Nor do I shrink from this contest to which I am challenged; to which, oh! that I could obtain from her majesty power to bring my accusers; that in some vast temple, in presence of the faithful, might be exhibited the representation of the contest of Carthage, as it took place between St. Augustine and the Donatists."* With this boastful leave-taking he sent a copy of all his obnoxious and offensive writings, to which he thus gave new publicity.† We need not add that, in his pastoral, he heaped every opprobrious epithet on the chapter and all that composed it, calling them "hypocrites and enemies of the national liberties, of the public peace, and cause, and of Isabella II.," and attributing their conduct to "mortified vanity, venomous envy, desire of revenge, and pharisaical zeal."‡

* Printed on a fly sheet, without title, p. 2.

† Document quoted in note, p. 47.

‡ These flowers of pastoral eloquence, which abound in Ortigosa's writings, have been carefully culled, and united in a precious nosegay, by D. Manuel de Jesus Carmona, of the Chapel Royal, at Seville, professor in the university of that city.—Examen critico-teológico-canónico de los Escritos publicados por el Sr. D. Val. Ortigosa, tom. ii. Sev. 1841, p. 7. We regret that this second volume does not go beyond p. 48. It exposes many untruths, respecting the trial, in Ortigosa's account.

But all this braggart spirit seems to have evaporated, when the hour of trial came. The St. Athanasius melted within him, the St. Augustine was struck dumb; his desire to make profession of faith before enemies oozed out at his fingers' end, and the very sight of the archiepiscopal audience-chamber, and of the necessary preparations for the investigation, terrified his "active, energetic, resolute, constant character;" he threw himself behind the shield of the state, and appealed to the civil power to rescue him from the ecclesiastical tribunal. The civil power, anxious at once to gain any triumph over the Church, and to serve and save its own child and faithful partisan, its intruded bishop elect, interposed its authority through the organ of the *Audience* or tribunal of Seville, forbade the governor of the diocese to proceed, and severely reprimanded him and his assessors, for presuming to do that which the minister of grace and justice had sanctioned. This order was issued on the 24th of April, 1839. It excited the astonishment and indignation of all sensible persons in Spain,* and led to the perplexing conclusion, that in Catholic, constitutional, Spain, there was no longer any authority competent to examine into the orthodoxy of a public ecclesiastical teacher.†

But this falling back from all his professions, and this insult to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, was so far from being considered by Ortigosa a disgrace,

* See the Piloto, 30th April of that year.

† Respuesta a la Esposicion, etc. p. 66.

that he made it the subject of another boastful pastoral to the clergy and laity, in which he considers it a triumph, and describes himself as having copied St. Paul when he appealed to Cæsar, and pleaded his citizenship in bar of being scourged! "My constancy and my resignation to suffering," he writes, "mortified my persecutors; and at the end they ruined themselves by their impatience, and suddenly all their artifices were brought to nought. Confounded, they hide themselves and fly—not from me, who have done them nothing; nor could my character, though strongly energetic, yet peaceful and Christian, have inspired them with terror; but they fly from their own consciences, etc." * He further published a review of the proceedings, characterized by all the peculiar graces observable in his other writings.† But the contest had now acquired an interest, beyond the local one which the events that had provoked it could possess—it was no longer the cause of the chapter of Malaga, but the cause of religion and orthodoxy in the Church of Spain. There appeared at Seville the "First Letter of an Andalucian Catholic," which was soon reprinted at Malaga; in which there is a mixture of that quite polished humor for which the Spaniards seem to have a peculiar

* Printed on a fly-sheet, without title, p. 2.

† Examen del Procedimiento ilegal del Gobernador del Arzobispado de Sevilla, a que ha dado lugar la denuncia anticanonica del Cabildo eclesiástico de Malaga, contro los escritos de D. V. Ortigosa. Seville, 1839.

turn, and of sound sense and principle. From it we learn another important item for appreciating the bishop elect's character—that not even in the miserable sophisms and weak facts put together by him in his unorthodox writings, can he glory, as his own; for he has servilely copied them from a paper by Sr. Abad y Queipo, bishop elect of Mechoacan in America, and his friend; a writing placed on the index of forbidden books by Pope Leo XII. in 1820.* So that they are not very choice feathers with which he has chosen to deck himself out! But he was more closely pursued, and more scientifically handled, in another work by one of the professors of canon law in the university of Seville, D. Manuel Carmona, the first volume of whose acute and learned "Examination of Ortigosa's writings" was compiled at the request of his scholars, anxious to have a guide in the intricate controversy which had arisen. In it he goes fully into the positions of the bishop elect, respecting the jurisdiction of persons in his situation, and solidly confutes the flimsy arguments employed by him.†

Ortigosa thus escaped from censure only to commit new ravages in the Church of Malaga. We cannot pretend to follow him through his tyrannical and oppressive acts; we have rather

* Carta primera de un Fiel Andaluz, en que se contesta al libelo publicado por el Sr. D. V. Ortigosa. Seville and Malaga, 1839, pp. 7. and 26.

† Exam. Critico-teologico-canonico, tom. i.

dwelt on those which involve principles. But he insulted his chapter, and tried to bring them into odium with the people, on occasion of the solemnities of Corpus Christi; * he got several of that body arrested and put into confinement; the good and most exemplary Fathers of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, the vicar of Velez, and a beneficed clergyman of the same city, the vicars of Archidona and of Olvera, the parish priests of Zafaraya, of Coin, of Alcala del Valle of Montejaque, and Folox and we believe of many other places, were brought to trial by him, or otherwise cruelly oppressed: so that some of those towns were driven into a state of the highest excitement, and almost into insurrection. But by the aid of the civil power, he rode triumphant over the necks of all, and defied every feeling of public indignation and horror. †

Yet his crowning work of insolence was not accomplished. His iniquities and excesses could not remain concealed from the watchful eye of the chief pastor, whose vigilance overlooks no oppressed, or desolate, church. The sovereign Pontiff, who, by his energetic voice, had made a Ferdinand and a Nicholas writhe on their royal and imperial thrones, caused the Catholic earth to thrill with the sorrows of this afflicted church

* Historia Documentada, pp. 99—121.

† See the Carta de la Malaguena, or Letter of a Malaguese woman to Ortigosa, Reparador; ep. i. tom. iii. cuad. 14, p. 89 If this be really the production of a woman, she is one of no common spirit and intelligence.

(which had fully paid for its first act of weakness), and raised a universal cry of abhorrence against its tyrant. On the first of March, 1841, his holiness Pope Gregory XVI. in a private consistory, addressed the assembled cardinals, on the miserable state of oppression of the Church of Malaga, and on the conduct of its pretended pastor. To this allocution Ortigosa replied, in a tone of insult, which we believe has never been equalled, certainly has never been surpassed, since the days of Luther. He affects to believe that it must be a forgery; pretends to distinguish what are the Pope's sentiments in it, from what has been put into his mouth by treacherous compilers, "extorted," as he repeatedly says, "from his venerable old age," abusing the revered name of the sovereign Pontiff; accuses him of oppression and injustice against "the humblest of priests," and cites him to answer for his allocution before the judgment-seat of God!* For this insolence he was well chastised in many publications, several of which we have had occasion to cite, as well as in loose sheets, and newspaper articles now before us.

But from this time we may date his downfall. Shunned by every one, clergy and laity, at last without even a party to support him, stripped of his usurped office of vicar, no longer bishop elect, he was lately annoying the chapter from his retirement at Madrid, through government applica-

* Esposicion del Ilmo S^r D. V. Ortigosa. . . . dirigida a Ntro. Smo. Padre Gregorio XVI. Malaga, 1841.

tions respecting his income. What has since become of him we know not. We only wish him time, and still more, grace, to repent of his past injustices, that he fall not into the judgment of his fellows.* For Spain, so thoroughly Catholic in its feelings, has observed with awe, how other such bishops elect have fared. We have mentioned the sudden and unprovided death of his predecessor in the scandals of Malaga, the biblical Ventura Gomez, elect of Jaen; D. Mariano Rica, elect of Cuenca, shared the same fate, falling down dead, and his secretary, Don T. Romea, followed him similarly within a fortnight. A like end overtook D. F. Martinez de Velasco, likewise elect of Jaen. We believe that other examples could be quoted. Far be it from us to presume to penetrate into the unsearchable judgments of God; but such a number of similar results in similar cases, cannot fail to impress the mind with fear.

We have before seen the character and conduct of the true bishops of the Spanish Church; their courage, their patience, their piety, their zeal, and their devotion to their flocks. We have seen every quality of the Good Shepherd imprinted on their lives. We have seen likewise, the men whom the *liberal* government would have put into their places. If a character could be made up of the hireling and the wolf, we should have no bad de-

* We have heard that he has since addressed a most humble and submissive letter of retractation to the pope. God grant this may be true

scription of their conduct:—weak enough to deliver over every sacred right to the rapacity of an irreligious government, that seeks to tear and spoil; but with strength enough, and fangs enough themselves to worry and to destroy. Of the people we can say that, in Malaga at least, they knew, and did, their duty. From the high magistrate to the tradesman, we found not one who took the intruder's part, or sympathized with him. All saw, all knew instinctively, the difference between him and a true bishop of God's Church. However he may for a time have deceived any of them he soon gave the lie to his own pompous statement, that he was incapable of being, or of making, an enemy. In the unchristian sense of the word, we hope it may be so. But that in Malaga he has left no partisan, none that would defend his conduct, we feel very confident. Nay, we are sure that there are persons there, most estimable for their virtues and acquirements, who would not have an enemy in this world, but who would fly from him, on his return to the city (should such an event occur), as they would from a plague.

Other instances of the perplexities and torture of conscience produced by the interference, or undue influence, of late governments, in the administration of vacant dioceses, are to be found in other parts of Spain; and the course pursued by the present moderate party in power, presents a gratifying contrast to that of their predecessors.

It has consisted in refraining from all actual interference, but advising, or at least freely permitting, the parties to follow the line of conduct which duty and conscience naturally suggested.

Thus, in the diocese of Osma, there was great anxiety of mind on account of the illegality of the diocesan governor, Sr. Campuzano; in consequence of which, after the overthrow of Espartero, the chapter applied to the government for permission to lay the case before the Holy See, and obtain from it a remedy. The ecclesiastical governor, feeling himself the doubts which agitated others, applied likewise to be allowed to resign. Sr. Mayans, the minister of grace and justice, immediately took the straightforward course of replying to him, that it did not belong to the government of her majesty to grant such permission; but that, "if there was agitation and disturbance of consciences, it would be beneficial to the state and the Church, and gratifying to her majesty the queen, if he did resign." He accordingly did so, in May of last year; and thus peace was restored, as the chapter was left to the free, unembarrassed, and unbiassed, exercise of its rights in a new election.*

The diocese of Guadix was lately, and may be yet, in a similar embarrassment. The chapter, on the death of the last bishop, in September, 1840, unanimously elected as vicar capitular, Dr. Joaquin de Villena; and the choice was approved

* Pensamiento de la Nacion, tom. i. p. 253.

by the government, in May of the following year. On the 28th of August, the *gefe politico*, or civil governor of the province of Granada, in which Guadix is situated, thought proper to order a protest, or manifesto, against the Pope's allocution of March the 1st, to be read in all churches, on three successive festivals. The vicar, as in duty bound opposed this measure, both for its substance and for its form. He was immediately proceeded against; and on the night of the 21st September was put under arrest in his own house, and then ordered to consider himself as committed to prison. Being thus under violent restraint from the discharge of his office, he canonically informed the chapter of the circumstance; and it proceeded at once to name a vicar, till the impediment should be removed—since, according to canon law he could not be otherwise replaced. D. Isidoro Cepero y Torres was so elected. In the mean time the action against the vicar proceeded, and he was condemned, on the 22nd of July, 1842, to four years' banishment from the diocese! Such has been the treatment of hundreds of ecclesiastics, under Espartero's liberal government! On the 2nd of June, last year, this unjust sentence was reversed, and he returned to Guadix. But doubts had now arisen as to the rights of the two vicars, and opinions were divided, as to which was truly in office.* How the affair has ended, we know not; but it is a melan-

* Pensamiento de la Nacion, p. 582.

choly instance of the trouble and misery resulting from the unjust and oppressive interference of the secular power, in matters ecclesiastic, as well as of what a diocesan ruler had to suffer, if he boldly discharged his duty.

But no church in Spain has been more a prey to the evils of uncertain jurisdiction, or has more claimed public attention in that country on this account, than the metropolitan see of Toledo, under whose jurisdiction Madrid is situated. The see fell vacant by the demise of Cardinal Inguanzo, in January, 1836. The government of the arch-diocese was bestowed first on Sr. Valleja, and after him on Sr. Gonfalguer. But serious doubts all along existed, as to the canonicity of either's election. What undue influence may have been used over the chapter to constrain election, is not accurately known; but in the entire diocese there was uneasiness and insecurity. Nor could we have a better proof of the sensitiveness of the *people* to the question of lawful jurisdiction, and the legitimacy of those who pretend to hold it. For nothing could be more marked than the feelings of all classes towards Gonfalguer. In Madrid he was shunned, and left completely isolated: all sorts of means were employed to avoid having recourse to his jurisdiction, or to supply its supposed defect. Parties wishing to marry, went to establish a domicile elsewhere, to escape danger; and many were kept from the sacraments, even at Easter, for fear

of receiving them through doubtful faculties conferred by him.*

At length, when the pressure of the "Regent's" government was removed, these suppressed murmurs broke out into open remonstrances, and calls for redress. In May, 1844, all the clergy of the archipresbytery of Uceda addressed a firm, and yet most temperate, memorial, to the dean and chapter of Toledo, expressive of their feelings of doubt and uneasiness, and begging that the matter might be referred to the Holy See, for final decision. In the following month the *Ayuntamiento*, or corporation, of Humanes respectfully addressed the queen on the same subject, seeing that, their parish priest being dead, and the administrator who had succeeded him being very infirm, no priest could be found to undertake the spiritual care of the place, under so doubtful a jurisdiction. In the same month, all the clergy of the district of Guadalajara signed a similar petition, to have the matter referred to the decision of the sovereign pontiff. In July the entire body of the clergy of Madrid presented a petition to the same effect, to the dean and chapter. These and many other similar remonstrances had at length their effect. Gonfalguer resigned his situation in November last, and left the chapter at liberty to make new and canonical arrangements.

Nor must it be thought that this had been

* Memorial of the Clergy of Madrid. Pensamiento, p. 408. See p. 310.

merely a conflict of words or opinions. The usurped power of the vicar was, as in other instances, supported by violence, and by the persecution of every worthy ecclesiastic, whose duty brought him into conflict with his assumed jurisdiction. As late as April last year, Gonfalguer's vicar at Alcazar, D. Mariano de la Peña, wrote to Father Pantoja at Villacanas, desiring him to accept additional faculties, to absolve from the reserved case of not having complied with the paschal duty of communion, faculties derived directly from the bishop or his substitute: to communicate the same to another religious already, like himself, in possession of ordinary (legitimate) faculties, and to order three other priests, not furnished with these, to present themselves within three days at his office, and take out permission to preach and hear confessions. To this the worthy priest replied, that having called together the ex-religious mentioned, they one and all declined, either to make use of the extraordinary, or to take out the ordinary, faculties offered to them, because either must depend, for their validity, on the lawfulness of the power which delegates them. Now this they considered in the present case doubtful; and every one knows that it is not lawful to employ such doubtful authority in the administration of the sacraments. In other respects, he observes for himself, that though seventy years of age, almost blind, afflicted with a troublesome habitual catarrh, and other grievous

infirmities, he is willing to labor all day, as he has done till now, in the confessional.

Here is a clear case, in which the delicacy of conscientious feelings ought surely to have been respected. If a person of upright character, so far esteemed by the opposite party (if we may use the term) as to be called forward by it to receive new and important trusts, hangs back from scruples which do him honor, and show only how worthy he is of confidence, his motives and conduct ought to entitle him to regard. But instead of this, on the 4th of May, an officer is sent to the houses of all these priests, and of two others who have acted similarly, to seize, examine, register, and seal up all their papers and correspondence and oblige them to present themselves before the vicar in three days, with all their ecclesiastical faculties and licenses. This they are compelled to do; and though they are treated with courtesy, they are obliged to deliver up these faculties, and so in reality to go back with the censure of suspension put upon them, though they are permitted to use their faculties till Gonfalguer shall have further decided. Thus are seven respectable ecclesiastics wantonly treated like conspirators, or suspected thieves, have their houses ransacked and their papers examined, are marched off to a distance, and return degraded and punished, as far as lies in their oppressor's power.*

* Pensam. p. 233. Even local governments imitated the anti religious course of their masters. In October, 1840, the

We hope we have not tired our readers by our lengthened statements respecting the condition of the episcopacy, or its substituted authoriti ties, in Spain. We have sought rather to condense than to enlarge; but we trust we have produced enough to show, how highly respectable and venerable a body the true episcopate of Spain lately was, and so far as it survives the revolutionary deluge, yet is; and how much may we hope from its restoration to vigor and activity, by the filling up of its vacancies, the restoration to it of decent means at least, and the support and direction of the Holy See. In fact as far as we know of proposed nominations for vacant sees, they seem to promise most favorable prospects for the Church of Spain. Among old proposals which have remained suspended by the revolution, but which we hope to see renewed (having had

junta gubernativa (or governing committee) of Xeres de la Frontera, deposed several parish priests, and named their successors, with no other formality than a note to the following effect:—"Governing Committee. This committee, in its meeting of to-day, has agreed to suspend you from being rector, ad interim, for ——, and has named in your place the Rev. ——, to whom you will immediately deliver your charge, acknowledging the receipt of this order, and certifying its execution. Yours, etc., Xeres, Oct. 20, 1840. M. Sanchez Silva, F. C. Ruiz." A little sheet, "Reflexiones, etc.," by F. P. D. [Francisco Palomino Dominguez, curate of St. Michael's], showed briefly how the appointed successor would be an intruder, and schismatical, and his acts null. But we may naturally ask, "Quid Domini facient audent cum talia fures?"

means of forming a judgment about them, whether from personal acquaintance or from trustworthy reports), are those of D. Juan Cholvis, archpriest of Malaga, elect of Almeria, and D. Antonio Lao, abbot of the Collegiate of Our Saviour, at Granada, elect of Segorbe. The present administrator of the archdiocese of Seville is spoken of as proposed for the afflicted Church of Malaga (Ortigosa being set aside), and he, no doubt, will heal its sores, and console its afflictions, by the prudent and zealous sway of which he has already given proof; while as successor to the saintly bishop of Minorca is named Sr. Cascallano, dignitary of the cathedral of Cordova, eminent as a preacher, distinguished for his learning, and no less for his virtues; one whose affable manners and amiable character will not fail to win the hearts of his clergy and flock. Of these supposed nominations we have but just heard, and we earnestly pray they may prove true.

But we trust that the facts here brought together, will likewise help to demonstrate, that the people are not indifferent either to the virtues of their true pastors, or to the dangers arising from false ones. They have seen the difference between a bishop duly appointed, and selected by a Catholic government with confirmation from the chief pastor of the Church, and the false shepherds, chosen for political subserviency and lax maxims, to fill their places, and to afflict their flocks.*

* Even the author of the Revelations of Spain marks the

They know the importance of a true mission—they know too the sacredness of the episcopal character. When the bishop of the Canary Islands visited the celebrated tobacco-manufactory at Seville, and entered the immense room in which a thousand women are engaged in cigar making, the entire place was in commotion and confusion. All rushed towards him to kiss his episcopal ring, and receive his benediction; nor was it easy to restore order. And we have ourselves witnessed similar scenes, both in smaller provincial towns, and in larger cities. We have seen a bishop, though a stranger, so soon as recognized, surrounded by a crowd, which it required some gentle violence to penetrate—the churches, which he visited at chance-hours, filled as if by magic in an instant, and even the street, if he went on foot from one to another, literally blocked up, by the people who left their shops, and their work, to show their respect. Beads held out to be blessed, indulgences requested, blessings and prayers implored, expressions and tokens of affectionate respect lavished on every side, nay more, tearful eyes, and the question again and again asked, "When shall *we* have

great difference between the old, and the constitutional, clergy of Spain. "I speak," he writes, "of the class of zealous clergymen, who, though often ignorant to the last degree, are wedded to the altar, and weaned from the world; not of the constitutional clergy, who are for the most part mere politicians and place-hunters, and have few of the virtues, and none of the enthusiasm, which adorn the clerical character."—Vol. i. p. 353.

a bishop? Why will not you stay with *us?*" These were proofs which we have again and again had that the Spanish people—yes, the people, the poor, the ignorant, the simple-hearted, believing people of Spain,—know the full value of true and legitimate church government, have really felt its loss, and will willingly obey their lawful bishops, when it shall please the Almighty to restore them.

Nor must we close this portion of our subject, without saying a few words on another motive which they have to love them. It has been fashionable to speak of the enormous wealth of the Spanish bishoprics. But few have taken the trouble to inquire, or to report, what has been done, yea and what has not been done, with that wealth, exaggerated as it has been. We have had some instances before us in the foregoing pages. But if a traveller would note down, over the whole Peninsula, every great work either of magnificence or of public utility (not that the first excludes the second) which is due to the unassisted generosity of bishops, he would form a list that would not easily be rivalled here, by works executed with parliamentary grants, from the taxes of the people. Ask who built and endowed the sumptuous hospital, or orphan-house? and you will be told, such a bishop; who constructed the aqueduct which supplies the city, before unwholesomely provided, with water? and you will be answered, such another bishop; who founded the college for the education of the laity, or the semi-

nary for the training of ecclesiastics? and it is still a bishop. Look at those magnificent chapels in the cathedrals of Malaga, Cordova, or Granada, which must have given work, and perhaps inspiration, to artists, which brought out from the neighboring Sierra its marbles and precious stones, hidden almost till then, and which stand as national monuments of good taste and genius! A bishop in every instance. And it is still easier to enumerate the uses to which episcopal revenues in Spain have not been, and are not applied. They are not employed in enriching families, or setting them up in the world; the family of a Catholic bishop is the poor. Nor will the wealth of the bishops be discovered in their houses. For the traveller will be strangely disappointed, who expects to find magnificence in the episcopal palaces of Spain. The remark of a minister of state, lately visiting the vast palace at Seville, was most correct: "I expected to see a palace, but I find a place more like barracks." Long corridors with plain whitewashed cells for the dwelling of officials and attendants, a large library kept up for the public (to which the present archbishop has added his own collection), a chapel, the archiepiscopal offices, and one or two large halls for state occasions, occupy the bulk of the building. The only apartments reserved to the cardinal himself, consist of a narrow short gallery, from the end of which a small cabinet is partitioned off by a glass door. This contains a plain bureau and a few

chairs, and has parallel to it a bedroom, borrowing its light entirely, through two doors, from the gallery and cabinet. A country curate's rooms in England could not well be simpler in character and furniture. And the same we can say of other such residences.

II. In what we have written about the episcopal bench (to use an English phrase) of Spain, we have had more than one occasion to speak of the clergy, and to give examples of their courage and zeal. We find it more difficult to enter upon definite statements respecting this highly respectable body; because we find it impossible to individualize, as we could do in speaking of the bishops. The number of these is limited, and a certain amount of examples may permit us to draw more general conclusions. But the same could not be so well done for the vast body of the clergy; nor would it be right to bring forward individuals, whose station does not, from its public character, warrant our making free with their names. We will, therefore, content ourselves with speaking of classes; but still we hope to allege sufficient to vindicate the character of the Spanish priesthood from many foolish and wicked charges; and to show how much there is to hope from it, if things shall be restored to their proper condition.

In every country it is natural to expect that the more choice portion of the ecclesiastical body will be found in situations of trust, and, to a certain degree, of repose. The scholar, and the man

of ability and of good address for business, will be drawn naturally upwards to the seat of ecclesiastical government; and where the prebendal stall is not a sinecure, but entails a burthensome daily duty, which requires residence, it will be the most obvious provision for one whom the bishop, or the chapter, considers likely to be a valuable assistant or adviser. It is, therefore, to the cities and to their chapters, that we may reasonably look for the more learned portion of the clergy. It is far from our minds to make this an exclusive assertion; on the contrary, we shall find, in cities particularly, many clergy highly distinguished for scholarship and ecclesiastical learning in all its branches, belonging to the parochial body, or having other occupations. In the University of Seville, and we doubt not in many others, there are professors holding parishes, and one of these is at present the rector of that university. Without, therefore, meaning to draw such a line of separation between the different classes of clergy as our preamble might imply, we are ready to assert, that the ecclesiastics who compose the capitular bodies in Spain, or are otherwise connected with its episcopal functions and government, will be found equal to those of any other country, in character and acquirements. This, certainly, is the result of our own observation in no inconsiderable number of cathedral towns; where it has been our good fortune to make acquaintance with the capitular clergy.

After the zeal of the bishops, it is to that, and moreover to the good taste and generosity of its chapters and dignitaries, that Spain owes its most splendid works; and, as far as we can judge, the noble spirit, which formerly was allied to comparative wealth, has not degenerated in these days of poverty and oppression. We may, we think, best illustrate this assertion, by entering more at length on what has been done, in past and in present times, by one of these bodies, the chapter of the magnificent cathedral of Seville.

When this city was conquered from the Moors, by the great St. Ferdinand, his first care was naturally to provide in it for the worship of God. A magnificent mosque, erected on the site of an ancient Christian church, was consequently turned into a cathedral, and consecrated in 1248. But, though by degrees it became extremely rich, it was found quite unequal to the desires and feelings of the people; and it had suffered also much, in course of time, from earthquakes and other accidents. On the 8th of July, 1401, the whole clergy of the church met in chapter, and shortly agreed that, as the cathedral threatened ruin, "Let another be built, such and so good as that there shall be none equal to it; and that due regard be had to the greatness and authority of Seville and of its church, as is reasonable; and if for this work the funds of the fabric be not sufficient, all said that there shall be taken from their income so much as shall suffice, for that they will give it for

the service of God. And they ordered this to be signed by two prebendaries." * We are told that the decree of the chapter for the building of this cathedral is still read in the capitular register, in these strong quaint words: "Fagamos una Eglesia tal que los venideros post nos tengan por locos;" that is, "Let us build such a church, that those who come after us may take us to have been mad." In two years the work was commenced, and continued without interruption till 1506; and how? By a prolonged course of unwearying sacrifice, which probably has no parallel. The canons, and other clergy of the Church, retired into a small house, near the cathedral, lived in community on the most economical terms, and gave up the whole of their income to the new building. When it is considered that they were not religious, and that there was no tie upon them to live as such, and that they could have none of that peculiar feeling which binds monks to what is their home, and moreover that this mode of life was continued through several generations, for a hundred and five years, without objection or relaxation, and without the prospect, to most, of ever enjoying the fruit of their sacrifices—we must own, that there was a generous spirit in that race of men, worthy of the best times of the Church, and most honorable to their order. In 1511 three great pillars gave way, and fell with the roof in

* Sevilla Pintoresca, Sev. 1844, p. 91. An interesting work in course of publication.

the middle of the night; but in four hours the people had removed all the ruins, the chapter recommenced its labors, and by 1519 this sumptuous temple was completed.

And in the truth, it may well have passed into a proverb in Spain, as a thing that is marvellous. "I do not hesitate," says one of the authors before us, "to characterize the cathedral of Seville as the most noble temple in Christendom. The effect produced on entering, is absolutely overpowering. The mind is astonished and overawed by the solemn and sombre sublimity of the interior. No creation of mere human art, with which I am acquainted, can rival the cathedral of Seville in the instantaneous and overwhelming sense of awe which it produces. Its vast size, obscurely discovered by the dim and holy light which is poured in through its richly-stained windows; its lofty and enormously massy clustered columns; the prodigious elevation of its vaulted roof; the sombre richness of its ornaments; and the solemn silence which reigns throughout its vast extent, which seems increased rather than interrupted by the echo of some peasant's step hastening to his favorite shrine, and which we listen to as it falls faint and more faintly on the ear, until it is lost in the far distance—all exercise a singularly subduing and solemnizing power. The effect is powerfully devotional." *

To this description of the effect of this magnifi-

* Journal of a Clergyman, p. 4 6.

cent church upon the senses and feelings, we are ready to bear full witness. No Pointed building in England, France, or Belgium, has ever produced on our minds so solemn an impression. Its loftiness and vast area, owing to its consisting of five wide aisles, besides lateral chapels of great dimensions, no doubt contribute to this effect.*

But splendid as was the building thus erected by the generous zeal of the chapter, not less so have been its appurtenances, respecting which we must speak, on account not so much of their value and splendor, as of the credit which their faithful preservation reflects on the present clergy of the Church. Although we have spoken of the wholesale plunder of churches, which has taken place in Spain, whether under the French, or under liberal domination, we must make an exception in favor of this richest and most sumptuous minster. Not

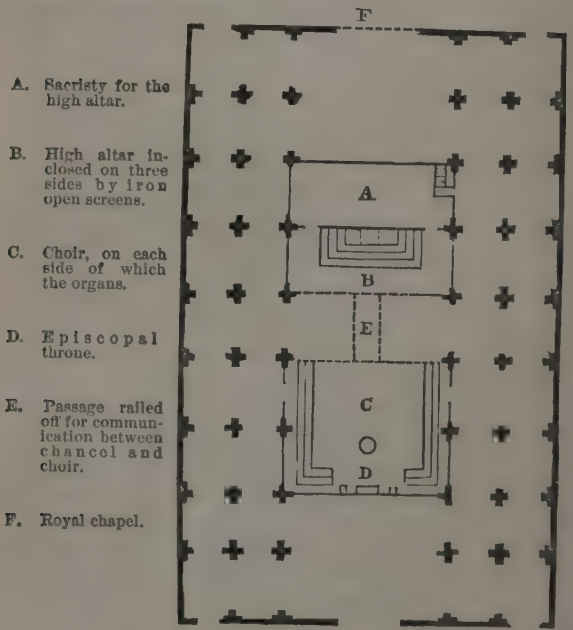
* The author just quoted has given us the dimensions of St. Peter's, St. Paul's, and Seville cathedral. We will add to them those of three of our old cathedrals.

	St. Peter's. Feet.	St. Paul's. Feet.	York. Feet.	Lincoln. Feet.	Salisbury. Feet.	Seville Feet.
Length.....	673	510	492	482	449	443
Breadth.....	280	120	96	80	90	275
Height of nave	146	100	99	80	81	134

It will be seen from this table that, while our old churches have the advantage in length, they do not come near Seville in width and height. In the former dimensions it is only five and in the latter twelve, feet below St. Peter's. Further, it must be observed that from the position of the choir at Seville there is an uninterrupted view from end to end, along the double aisles on either side, and the whole width is at the same time visible. We insert a ground-plan made from a few notes and memory. It must be observed, that beside

that the will was wanting to pounce upon its treasury, but that promptness, tact, and firmness on the part of its clergy have succeeded in thoroughly foiling every attempt of irreligious rapacity. And yet that clergy have shown themselves ready to make sacrifices, even in this point, for the public benefit. During the war of invasion they voluntarily gave up much plate to the state, so as to

the side aisles is a row of large and splendid chapels on either side, which are wholly omitted in the plan, as are the sacristy, chapter-house, etc.



A. Sacristy for the high altar.

B. High altar inclosed on three sides by iron open screens.

C. Choir, on each side of which the organs.

D. Episcopal throne.

E. Passage railed off for communication between chancel and choir.

F. Royal chapel.

reduce, for instance, the number of silver lamps in one chapel (the *Antigua**) from seventy-two to forty-eight. But, notwithstanding these losses, the altars and treasury of Seville cathedral still show what Catholic churches used to be in the middle ages, when men kept poor houses, that they might have rich sanctuaries, and the altar possessed what the side-board had now usurped.

The principle on which this munificence was based, is also here clearly manifested. It is not show, nor the gratification of vanity, nor ambition to impose upon beholders, as people would have us think, but simply a natural manifestation of honor, and a rendering of service to God, with the most precious of His gifts. When the treasuries of churches have been plundered, we have generally heard but little regret expressed; on the ground, that their wealth was uselessly hoarded up, and kept from being publicly beneficial. But why is not the same reasoning applied to the family plate and jewels of the great, or to the regalia of the crown? They are of no more benefit to the public than those of Loreto were: to purchase them, indeed, there were large sums thrown into circu-

* So called from a most ancient painting of our Lady, on the wall, supposed to have been part of the old Gothic church; *i. e.* the church built by the Goths anterior to the Saracen occupation. It was incorporated in the mosque, and so preserved. The whole altar, credences, and furniture, including many massive candlesticks, are silver. It has a large sacristy of its own, richly provided with gold plate, jewels etc. There is great devotion there on the part of the people.

lation; and when made, they gave encouragement to art and to industry. And after they have thus given their equivalent to the public, no one complains, if they remain for centuries in the iron chest, to be produced from time to time, on a festive occasion. Nay, it will be said, that such thriftless accumulations *are* useful to society, by keeping up social distinctions, and sustaining those high family feelings, which are among the guarantees of a nation's honor. And surely the treasures of the Church have been originally paid for, like those of the Tower, and have served to inspire art and skill, in many, from St. Eligius down to Benvenuto Cellini or Juan de Arfe.* And after this what ground is there to complain, if they are kept up with care? For, if the preservation of such treasures is considered becoming the house of a noble or royal person, and seems to add somewhat, in the estimation of other ranks, to their dignity, it is but natural that the majesty of God's house and service should be adequately enhanced by what excites those feelings; nay, the contrary would be at variance with an instinct of nature. God Himself in His old law would have only gold around His sanctuary; the heathens even in distress, would have golden vessels for sacrifice (*pateris*

* One of the artists in the sixteenth century, who worked for the cathedral plate. He made the magnificent silver *custodia*, or shrine, for the blessed sacrament on Corpus Christi. It is an exquisite piece of plate, eighteen palms high. Merino and Bart. de Morel contributed pieces of unrivalled workmanship to this treasury. Both lived in the same century.

libamus et auro). The Christians, from the earliest antiquity, had the same feeling, and acted upon it. We should have deemed it superfluous to write all this, were we not as yet constantly assailed by the old cry of "*Ut quid perditio hæc?*—Wherefore this waste?" whenever there is an approach to the magnificence of old times. Judas was the first to speak the words; and he has had his school, through the succession of such men as Peter the Cruel,* Harry VIII., Napoleon, and Mendizabal.

But to return; so far are the treasures of the cathedral of Seville (which is but a type of what other churches have been) from being intended for show, that we may really say that they comparatively produce but little effect, nay, that the most precious are hardly, if ever, seen. The altars, it is true, are brilliant with massive silver ornaments, colossal busts, gigantic candlesticks, huge lecterns—everything which in other churches might be of wood or copper; but the gold and the precious stones are in great part hidden, because appropriated chiefly to the immediate contact and

* At the east end of Seville cathedral, occupying the place of Henry VII.'s chapel in Westminster Abbey, is the royal chapel, which has a chapter, and daily office, of its own. The high altar with the shrine of St. Ferdinand over it, is valued at £10,000. It is all of massive silver, elaborately wrought. Peter the Cruel seized on the former treasures of the chapel, and gave a receipt for them, taking them, as he says in it, for their better custody. The paper yet remains there, but it is unnecessary to add, the plate has never been returned.

service of the most adorable Eucharist. Thus on the high altar, there is a well-proportioned, but yet enormous silver tabernacle; but, then, within this is another never seen, forming a temple of purest gold, and in this again, is a very large ciborium of the same precious metal, but covered with diamonds and other jewels. There is a pyx of beautiful workmanship, representing a dove, within which is a vessel for the Blessed Eucharist, all of pure gold, which is never used except to carry the viaticum to the archbishop. Again, the golden key, only used to lock up the Blessed Sacrament in the sepulchre on Holy Thursday, is studded with magnificent brilliants. The chalices are all of the same material, and in such numbers, that a different one is used on each principal festival, and never else; for everything is regulated by strict rule. Thuribles, reliquaries, and all else immediately pertaining to the solemn sacrifice of the New Law, are of the same substance, and of the most beautiful workmanship.*

* Among other beautiful objects, we must notice a *pax*, in the form of a small triptych, of gold most brilliantly enamelled, and otherwise richly ornamented, of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. There is another beautiful pax, of silver gilt, of the same period, preserved among the few remnants of the treasury of the cathedral of Malaga. As we are on this subject, we will not omit mention of two of perhaps the most splendid pieces of silversmith's work in existence, which have likewise escaped all the ravages of the late times. The one is the *custodia* for Corpus Christi, the other a processional cross, both of silver, in the cathedral of Cordova. They are of the most delicate and finished Gothic

If we have dwelt thus upon the wealth of this cathedral, the far greater part of which, as well as the splendid buildings in which it is kept, rich with paintings of the first merit,* are due to the good taste and generosity of its chapter, it is not merely to enhance these good qualities in those who have passed away, but also to do justice to

work. The custodia rises to the height of seven or eight feet from an octagonal base, covered with beautiful reliefs, and ornamented with scroll-work to a point, the intermediate portion being composed of exquisitely wrought pinnacles and tracecies, with gilt images. Both are of the fifteenth century. Their beauty has saved them, when all else has been carried off.

* Over the altar in the sacristy, at which the reliquaries with other more sacred plate, are kept, is a picture of the Descent from the Cross, painted by Pedro de Campaña, in 1548. It is one of the most beautiful paintings we have ever beheld. It was formerly the altar-piece of the parish church of Santa Cruz, close to which was Murillo's house. This great painter used to pass hours before the picture, and when asked what he was looking at so long, replied, "I am waiting to see them get down our Lord," so natural is the action of the figures, though in a severe style. In his will he directs his body to be buried before that painting. This was done, but Soult pulled down the church, and Murillo's ashes are without a tomb, and in the street. Yet Soult was the great admirer of Murillo! The Dean Cepero has now what he considers Murillo's house, and in it the most splendid private collection of paintings in Seville. Among them are several beautiful works of that master, and a Crucifixion by Alonzo Cano, which we consider unrivalled. [It was in that church of the Holy Cross, which Murillo so loved, and in which he wished to be buried, that the writer of these pages received the inestimable blessing of baptismal regeneration.]

the present members of it, to whose wariness and intrepidity their preservation is due. For it must not be supposed, that the covetousness of late chancellors of the exchequer, including the Jewish one so often alluded to, overlooked the wealth, valued, we have heard, at a million sterling, yet preserved in this church. When the French overran Andalucia, these riches were carried to Cadiz, which alone escaped the power of the invaders. When the Carlist general Gomez made his foray into the same province, the government ordered the same precaution to be taken. The chapter objected, considering that there was sufficient security in the feelings of the people. "We have only to place these sacred and precious things in public," said the present dean, then mayordomo of the church, "and they will make themselves respected." However, this was not listened to; and the contents of the treasury were packed up in thirty large cases and sent to Cadiz, accompanied by two faithful servants of the cathedral, one of whom never left them day or night. All returned safe. And now came another danger. The government sent orders for the delivery of the treasures to its commissioners; but they were not heeded. Note followed note, commands, threats, were sent in succession; but still to no purpose. The chapter refused to give up the sacred deposit committed to their custody. But at length the orders were so imperative, and the threats so urgent, that the next step would have been a forcible attempt to

seize them—a hazardous one in such a place. In these straits, the dean had recourse to a proposal, which foiled the rapacity of the exchequer. "They shall be delivered up quietly," he said, "but with due honors. These treasures consist of either reliquaries or sacred vessels, solemnly consecrated to divine worship. They shall, consequently, to the last, be treated with the reverence due to them. The chapter, therefore, in solemn procession, in their copes, and preceded by their cross, shall bear them through the streets to the town-hall, and so give them up." This would have been more than the people of Seville could have stood: the offer was not accepted, nor has the chapter been further molested.

The city, the fine arts, and religion, owe a debt of gratitude to the ecclesiastics, who have thus parried successfully every blow to rob the Church of what was an honor to the three; and have left us, consequently, a sample of what our fathers' piety could do for the worship of God. But as we have chosen this cathedral as an example of what sacrifices* and what efforts the capitular clergy are ready to make for their mother Church, we will continue to say something more of them (though it will be applicable to all the class), in connection with the services of the

* It is generally supposed that the benefices in Spain were enormously rich: but they will not stand comparison with English cathedral endowments. The forty canons of Seville had annually 40,000 reals, or £400; twenty prebendaries £300; and twenty-one minor canons £200 each.

Church. The cathedral service of Spain must formerly have been splendid. The phrase in every one's mouth, when speaking on the subject, is: "It is not a shadow of what it was." The chapter, properly so called, of Seville, consisted of ninety-two persons; and the whole body of clergy and assistants attached to the church, including the choir, amounted to two hundred and thirty-five. And as everything employed in the functions was of a most magnificent description,* the processions, which took place every festival, must have presented, especially on more solemn days, a most majestic and sublime spectacle. To this we must add, that there are yet preserved in that cathedral, and in other Spanish churches, uses and ornaments that have disappeared elsewhere, or which we are taught to consider as revivals.†

* In the sacristy of the cathedral are ninety-two white and ninety-two red copes of a suit for these processions before Tierce. The orphreys of those for the dignitaries, are embroidered with figures, as beautifully executed as those of the old times, and the canopies over them are still Gothic, though the work is modern. We had many opportunities of seeing that even this, as every other branch of sacred decorative art, is perfectly preserved in Spain, far beyond what it is in any other country.

† Thus the deacon and subdeacon yet wear the apparelled alb, and also the collar as apparel of the amice, which is placed over the head while the other sacred vestments are put on, and then is thrown back over the chasuble, as seen in the plates of Mr. Pugin's Glossary. The alb worn on Good-Friday is truly magnificent; as the priest takes off his chasuble for the adoration of the cross, his alb, besides the usual apparels gorgeously embroidered, has one on the

But if the services of the Church must have been formerly splendid, it must be acknowledged that they are now more edifying, as a proof of the spirit of attachment to duty which they display, in those who still continue to perform them. The funds of the fabric and of the chapter have been seized or sold; the pensions substituted in their place are not only small, but most inadequately paid; the arrears being generally of years. The consequences are, that there is not actually provis-

breast with a beautiful image of our Saviour, and one on the back with the figure of our Lady. On the Sundays and ferias of Lent and Advent, the ministers wear *planetæ plicatæ* instead of the dalmatics, and they are made of the old ample form ending in a point, and coming very low down on the arm. So that on entering into a Gothic church where mass is being sung, and seeing all these ancient forms of sacred vestments in use, one can easily transport oneself back to ancient times. It must be observed also, that in the cathedrals, the inferior ministers, thurifers, acolythes, and others, in considerable numbers, wear dalmatics with apparels and collars, or copes.

In Spain the Gospel and Epistle are always sung from *ambones* or pulpits at the entrance of the choir, or outside the screen where there is one. We were struck with one rite, which seems to be of great antiquity. At the beginning of Lent, a white curtain is stretched before and across the sanctuary, so that the people in the body of the church are completely debarred from having any view of what is done at the altar. The curtain is drawn aside three times, for the Gospel, for the elevation, and for the *Oratio super populum*. On Holy Wednesday, at the words in the Passion, "et velum templi scissum est," it is torn open in two parts. The usual veils over the pictures, etc., are not removed till Holy Saturday.

ion for the ordinary services of the Church; still less for the more magnificent functions; such as those of Holy Week, Corpus Christi, or the Conception. This Lent, the government issued an order for an advance to be made on the allowance to the churches and cathedrals, in order to meet the expense of oil and wax, etc., necessary for the offices of Holy Week; which, in reality, was only equivalent to an order for such an amount of arrears to be paid up. It is, therefore, entirely owing to the zeal of the chapters, supported by the charity of the faithful, that even the daily office is performed. Lamentable, indeed, is the sight of half a dozen canons, sprinkled over the triple range of stalls in the choir of Seville or Cordova; but still there they are, day after day, taking care that the fire of perpetual worship shall not be extinguished upon God's altar. The choristers, generally old men, but attached to the house of God, in which they have been trained from infancy, continue to perform gratuitously their laborious duties; and never for a single day has the solemn chanting of the entire office, with High Mass, been interrupted. And nowhere have we heard the Gregorian chant in deeper and fuller tone than in the cathedrals of Spain.

Speaking, however, of Seville, we must make one exception. There has been one day, and one alone, on which a low Mass only was celebrated at the high altar, as the conventual Mass, and that was on the memorable 21st of July, 1843. We

must say a few words upon this epoch, because it certainly has been in many respects misrepresented. It will be somewhat of a digression, but we have already given warning to our readers of our discursive intentions. When that almost spontaneous movement against Espartero, which ended in his exile, took place throughout Spain, Seville was of the common mind; but the expression of its feelings was repressed for a time by military violence; and on the 12th of May of that year the city was declared under military government. However, on the 18th, the civil authorities, unable any longer to repress the popular feelings, in which they themselves partook, met in council, and having summoned, to aid them in their deliberations, some of the most respected characters in the city, entered into communications with the military commander, the result of which was, what is now pretty well understood in England, a *pronunciamiento*, a fraternization between the troops and the people, and the flight of the commanding officer. A junta or commission was formed, in which the canon D. Manuel Cepero, since appointed dean of the cathedral, acted a conspicuous part. The result was, that General Van Halen proceeded from Granada to beleaguer the open city. On the 17th of July, General Hezeta, now the excellent *Gefe politico* of Seville, who was posted with a staff on the summit of that beautiful tower, the Giralda, with an excellent English telescope, announced the descent of the besieging army from

the heights of Alcalá de los Panaderos towards the city; and the next day Van Halen took up his position, and began to erect his batteries at the Cruz del Campo, a small group of houses within short range of the place.

In the mean time, the people had made active preparations for their defence, and had erected batteries, set up guns, and fortified the gates. There were 5,848 armed men to defend these works. On the 8th of the month, the enthusiasm of the people had been aroused by an imposing ceremony. The authorities of Granada had excited much popular feeling by displaying the banner of "the Catholic kings"—that banner which Ferdinand and Isabella waved triumphantly over the city of the Moors. Seville possessed, in its cathedral, the more valuable standard which St. Ferdinand bore when he conquered the city. This was borne in solemn procession; and the people swore before it, to defend their walls against the enemies of religion and the throne.

On the 20th the batteries opened. The second shell passed clean over the town, several others fell in the middle, but the greater part fell short. The damage done, therefore, was not great.* But, in that first day, there were fired upon the city 119 shells. The next day was the memorable one of the siege. For eighteen hours the batteries were never silent, and hardly ever was the air free from some missile. Three hundred and

* El Pronunciamiento y Sitio de Sevilla. Sev. 1843, p. 31.

fifty-seven shells, and six hundred cannon-balls were launched upon the city.* On the next morning Espartero arrived; there was some relaxation of activity on the part of the besiegers. On the 24th, seventy-eight shells were thrown in, besides balls; and the bombardment continued for a few days more till on the 28th the enemy retired, pursued by the liberating army. During the siege there were thrown into the city 618 shells, besides balls.

Now when we consider that the entire transaction, on the part of Espartero and his general Van Halen, was a most wanton act of cruelty and barbarity: of cruelty towards the thousands of defenceless inhabitants, and of barbarity towards the monuments of art with which the city is filled —that even if they had taken Seville, it would not have averted the fate which their panic-like supineness had brought upon them—that, at any rate, the way to take the city, or, if taken, to make it a *point d'appui* for a stand against the entire kingdom, was not to bombard it, and exasperate its inhabitants to madness by the reckless ruin inflicted on them—and when we consider, further, that these men have been courted, feasted, honored in England, as patriots and defenders of their country, we are filled with ineffable disgust, and feel such marks of respect to such men, as a national stain.† What a pity that, in the banquet

* Alzamiento y Defensa de Sevilla. El Pronun. p. 47.

† "There is one Homeric epithet of Mars, to which Es-

to Espartero, among the decorations of the hall, the words, "Seville," and "July 21st, 1843," were not conspicuously emblazoned.

We have heard the partisans of Espartero say, in his defence, that his object was only to frighten the Sevillans; that care was taken that no real damage should be done—but particular care was taken to avoid, in taking aim, the Cathedral and the Giralda. But really both excuses are intolerably false. As to the first, can any motive, short of the hard necessities of war, justify such play as that of sending six hundred shells, and more than that number of balls, into a city with 80,000 inhabitants, where you cannot see their effect? Twenty lives were actually sacrificed, and many houses reduced to a pile of ruins. The terror caused both in families* and in the numerous com-

partero may assert his right among his countrymen—the only one which they are willing to accord him—that of 'wall-battering,' the bombarder of cities. Barcelona and Seville will live in the memory of Spaniards, as long as his defeat at Ayacucho in Peru: and whatever his absolute right, the recklessness of those attacks upon life and property, and the indifference to the preservation of the noblest monuments of Spain, will be indelibly graven in their minds."—Revelations of Spain, vol. i. p. 14. The author, however, wishes to apologize for Espartero's conduct.

* We will record one case of a providential escape in the family of a gentleman, previously known to us, who related it to us on the spot. Senor R—, a rich merchant, occupies an excellent house beside the church of San Isidoro. Having been kept in a state of alarm by the bombardment, he proposed to his lady that they should cross the river to Triana, in order to have one night's quiet sleep. This was

munities of religious women, may easily be imagined. The nuns of eleven convents left their houses, and sought refuge in the cathedral, or in distant quarters of the city, so that as many as 130 of them were crowded in the convent of St. Clare. We will give the history of one, the Augustinian convent of San Leandro, more interesting, perhaps, to our readers, from the circumstance of the superior, Mrs. Collins, and another nun (Mrs. Ridgway,) being English. We heard their own account of what befel them. During the siege, *thirteen* shells fell and exploded in their convent, one in the dormitory, one in the refectory, etc. But in the evening of the eventful 21st, while the community were fortunately in choir, a shell fell on the superior's bed, and set it on fire. A lay-sister happened to see it, and called in

agreed to, and they accordingly left with their children, leaving a son in-law, who wished to remain in charge of the house and much valuable property. That very night, a shell entered through the wall of the highest floor, fell through this, and exploded in the chamber which Mrs. R— would have occupied, and shattered in pieces the bed in which she would have slept. It destroyed all the furniture, and the windows and doors of the neighboring rooms, and broke down the corner of the wall. Some phenomena of a singular nature occurred, reminding one of the mysterious action of the electric fluid. Thus a bottle half full, standing on the upper shelf of an adjoining small room, was found standing unbroken beside the window opposite. An English gentleman who had left by the preceding steamer—the last opportunity—had been sleeping in the room which the shell first entered.

assistance. The fire was promptly extinguished, after doing some damage; but the good religious were too terrified to remain any longer in the house, and accordingly going out, sought refuge for the night in the church of San Ildefonso, immediately opposite to their house. They were placed in the choir; but had not been there long, when a shell broke into the church, and burst upon the altar. Once more they went forth in the night—the first time that any of them had left the walls of their convent since making their religious profession, some more than forty years before, ignorant whither they should go, while the air resounded with the cannonade, and missiles were flying over their heads; till some charitable persons led them to the Lonja or Archives of the Indies, a strong building, where a committee was sitting. In the porticoes of this they passed the night, and the next day were sent over to the suburb of Triana, by the canon Cepero, one of the governing committee. Again, in the Beaterio (a religious community) of the Holy Trinity, in which, besides the nuns, are seventy-five children under their care, a shell fell in the court, the ordinary residence during the summer months.

We may easily, therefore, imagine the consternation into which the city was cast by this wanton aggression. And here it must be owned, that the chapter did their duty nobly. We do not speak of the more daring acts of enthusiasm performed by one of its members already mentioned, Don

Manuel Lopez Cepero, who took the lead in all the arrangements for the declaration, and the defence of the city, and was the very soul of the movement, by infusing into it a strong religious feeling; * but of the conduct of the clergy as a body. First, they threw open the gates of the cathedral to all who sought refuge in it, and it was soon filled. Many thousands of persons, including religious communities, took up their abode in it, as a place of security, from its strength, and from its sacredness. Not indeed that there can be any credit attached to the assertion that Van Halen designedly spared that magnificent monument; for those who watched on the Giralda (and he knew that there the look-out for his movements was kept) have assured us that clearly many shells were aimed at that tower and the church which it covered; some fell short, some passed over, and several fell on either side; but, thank God, not one touched the sacred edifice. We have seen the places where shells fell on each side; one in the court of the Lonja on the south, and only separated from the cathedral by a street; another in the episcopal palace on the north, and almost in contact with it. However, the people felt every confidence in the protection of God's house, and it was freely tendered to them.

* Discurso improvisado, etc. Sev. 1843. His sermons filled the people with enthusiasm. The good bishop of the Canary Islands was indefatigable in his attention to the distressed, visiting the wounded at great risk of his own life.—El Pronunc. p. 39.

The Blessed Sacrament was removed, and the different chapels were assigned to different communities; while the vast area was divided by curtains, and allotted to families who had there sought shelter. And be it observed, to the credit of the population, that while multitudes had left for neighboring towns and villages, and many were thus crowded in this and other churches—for most were filled—not a single act of plunder or theft came before the police then or after.*

But while thus the house of God was thrown open to every poor sufferer, the chapter never once interrupted its offices. In the midst of that multitude (the choir and altar alone being left free), every canonical hour from matins to complin was fully chanted, and high mass sung, except, as we have before observed, on the 21st of July, when such was the confusion and terror caused, on every side, by the incessant cannonade, that the service was shortened, by the substitution of a low mass! The solemn bell tolled, amidst the cannon's roar, at every accustomed hour (and the punctuality here observed is admirable), and the canons hastened through the desolate streets to the crowded cathedral, to intone the usual song of praise. Once indeed, before, it had given proofs of the same calm intrepidity. In 1751, on the 1st of November, the celebrated earthquake shook the church so violently, that all felt alarmed. The divine office was being performed there at the time;

* Discurso, etc. p. 22.

the canons accordingly left the church, but only to assemble round the cross in the great square, and there finish the appointed service. In commemoration of this, a portion of the office is sung on the same spot, every All Saints' day. Happy climate, in which this can be done!

This peaceful attention to the service of God's house, through poverty, through persecution, through revolutions, through the horrors of a siege, is certainly a characteristic highly creditable to those who have paid it; and to our minds speaks most strongly in their favor. Nor have they failed to show a most disinterested generosity in keeping up the beauty and magnificence of their sanctuary. A considerable legacy was left them, about two years ago, for the church. Instead of applying it in any way to their own benefit, they employed it in renewing the vestments, which (being of a blue color, by special privilege) can only be used on the 8th of December, and which are truly gorgeous, having cost them 14,000 dollars. What we have said of this cathedral, we wish to extend to every other, with which we have had an opportunity of becoming acquainted. In every one the daily service has been uninterrupted; though in some the number of prebendaries has been so reduced, and the church so impoverished, as to admit of only a recited, instead of a chanted, office, at least in part. In almost all, we have met with individuals who have suffered banishment for their conscientious resistance to the usurpations and oppres-

sions of government. In all, without exception, we have found persons of most highly estimable character, whose great ecclesiastical learning we have admired, whose patience and meek bearing under the humiliations of their body, and whose many virtues we have been edified with; and on whose kindness and easily-won and estimable friendship we look as a valuable acquisition; and among whom we feel sure that we have left many builders up of the walls of Israel, and restorers of its temple, whenever the Lord of Hosts shall return to visit His long-afflicted inheritance.

We must now say a few words on the general body of the clergy in Spain; and we will try to condense our remarks as much as possible. That in a class so numerous, and brought up under such different circumstances, there will be great variety, as to learning, talent, and virtue, is at once to be admitted. This has no doubt been the case since the very beginning of the Church. And yet it may not be amiss to look a little more closely into some of the charges based upon this variety. The charge of ignorance is the most common one brought against the Spanish clergy. A passage quoted above from the author of the "Revelations," insinuates it; and that most unscrupulous of travellers, Borrow, gives us one or two examples to prove it, which are really beyond endurance. We will, therefore, notice them merely as specimens. At Cordova he meets, at the hotel, with an aged country priest, who is reciting his breviary. He

makes friends with him, and as usual puts into his mouth a conversation, which he takes care, as on every similar occasion, shall be pretty indicative of imbecility. And in the course of it, he makes the poor old man speak of St. Paul's First Epistle to Pope Sixtus! * which he wisely conjectures to mean the Epistle to the Romans. Now, when a man tells untruths, he should at least make them probable —*se non è vero, sia ben trovato*, should be his rule. But the Gospel distributor of Spain is above such prejudices; and he never seems to trouble himself about gilding with probability the pills which he compounds for his morbid admirers. The evangelical swallow, he knew, was capacious enough for anything anti-popish; and he gives it as mercilessly wholesale a supply, as Morrison ever did his patients. Any one who knows what the breviary is, knows also that it is mainly made up of Scripture; and contains considerable portions of every book, and of none more in proportion, than of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. It is an absolute impossibility that *any* priest in Spain, or elsewhere, could have been ignorant of this book, or could have imagined one of the title given by Borrow. This answer will apply as well to another more startling instance—startling by its boldness. He travels from Madrid to Seville with a friar, on his way to the Philippine Islands as a missionary. The rest of his description is as follows:—"He had been *professor of philosophy*, he

* Bible in Spain, c. xviii. p. 104 (Colon. and Home Library).

told me, in one of the convents (I think it was San Thomas) of Madrid, before their suppression; but *appeared grossly ignorant of the Scriptures, which he confounded with the works of Virgil.*"* The friars missionary in the Philippine Islands are Dominicans, as we believe was the house or college of St. Thomas at Madrid. A professor of philosophy in a Dominican convent must have taken his degree, after severe examination on the works of St Thomas of Aquin: and it is *his* philosophy that he has to expound. We appeal to the learned reader whether a student and an expounder of the works of that father, can have been ignorant, in the manner which Borrow describes, of the sacred Scriptures. There is not a page of that saint's writings which would not prove the impossibility of such a fact. The very story confutes itself to any one acquainted with them. But Mr. Borrow was not writing for the learned, but for the gullible readers of evangelical magazines. There are three long interviews with different people in his work, which we have the best authority, coming directly from the parties named, to declare untrue from beginning to end—mere, pure fictions, and even directly at variance with what was really said.

When an author writes of the ignorance of persons belonging to a class different from his own, it is probable that he judges by a standard drawn from his own knowledge. It is not probable that Borrow or any other lay-traveller would be able to

* Bible in Spain, c. xlviii. p. 275 (Colon. and Home Library).

enter into much theological conversation, or to sound the depths of ascetic learning in a Catholic priest, with whom he might converse. He might find him exceedingly ill-informed upon politics, or trade, or even profane literature, and pronounce him an ignorant man—and he might be quite wrong. For if his mind was well furnished with that learning which is truly useful for his calling, though unfurnished with other acquirements, he is entitled to the praise of such learning as is most proper for him. But let us reverse the case. A Spanish priest comes over to this country, after having gone through the ordinary course of studies exacted from every one in Spain, before he can be a priest—*three years*' study of philosophy, and *seven years*' of theology. Such is the course which we found followed in the seminary of Cordova, and in the university of Seville; and such, we were assured, was the course everywhere enjoined, and even required by the government. Now this course comprises *Scripture*, moral and dogmatical theology, and ecclesiastical and canon law. It would be impossible, after such a study, in which Scripture is quoted at every turn (not to speak of the direct treatises upon it that form part of Catholic theology), to be ignorant in the way described by Mr. Borrow. Well—to return—a Spanish ecclesiastic, who has so studied, visits one of our universities, and wishes to become acquainted with some of the lights of the Anglican Church—peradventure aspires to an interview with one of its

bishops, that so on his return he may enlighten his countrymen, respecting this learned clergy, who taunt *his* order with gross ignorance. He will not certainly attack his lordship upon Æschylus or the Pindaric measures; he will not ask him whether he considers Porson or Bentley the greater scholar, nor consult him on the niceties of Greek particles; but in his innocent simplicity he will imagine that the way to test the learning of an ecclesiastic is to talk on those matters which he (good soul!) had been taught to think must have formed the great staple of his education and subsequent study. Will he return to his country with the impression that the ecclesiastical body of the Church of England is a learned body, as *he* understands learning? that her country curates go forth from the university well read in the rules for directing of consciences, and resolving of doubts and difficulties in the way of salvation? that her rectors have studied and possess the decisions of councils, even such as their own Church calls œcumenical? that her prebendaries give themselves up to deeper mystical lore, and spend their leisure hours in those sublimer studies which in his own country unlettered men like St. Peter of Alcantara, and women like St. Teresa, have cultivated, for leading souls more favored of God, to high perfection? and in fine that her bishops have at their fingers' ends the whole mass of doctrinal learning, can turn over to every decree of the Church, and lay down the law clearly and

convincingly on every new controversy, and be oracles in every difficulty, and sure guides in every trial of conscience. But if he came to the contrary conclusion, and you condemn him for it, and call it absurd to consider a clergy ignorant whose bishops have edited Greek plays, or whose clergy publish lectures on geology; we ask you in the name of justice to allow *him* too to be judged by his own standard, and let the ecclesiastical knowledge of a Catholic clergyman be the test of his learning. On this score the average of Spain will do more than compete with that of England.

But turning to other qualities, we may introduce the little we intend to say, by allowing Mr. Borrow to make some compensation for the injustices we have accused him of. As the following is about the only instance in his work, in which there is so much as a goodnatured or charitable thing said about the clergy of Spain, we must look upon it as the more valuable admission. He is describing a visit to the curate or parish priest of a small country village:—

"A woman directed us to a cottage somewhat superior in appearance to those contiguous. It had a small portico, which, if I remember well, was overgrown with a vine. We knocked loud and long at the door, but received no answer; the voice of man was silent, and not even a dog barked. The truth was, that the old curate was taking his siesta, and so were his whole family, which consisted of one ancient female and a cat. The good man was at last disturbed by our noise and vociferation, for we were hungry, and consequently impatient. Leaping from his couch, he came running to the door in great hurry and confusion, and perceiving us, he made

many apologies for being asleep at a period when, he said, he ought to have been on the look-out for his invited guest. He embraced me very affectionately, and conducted me into his parlor, an apartment of tolerable size, hung round with shelves, which were crowded with books. At one end there was a kind of table or desk covered with black leather, with a large easy chair, into which he pushed me, as I, with the true eagerness of a bibliomaniac, was about to inspect his shelves; saying, with considerable vehemence, that there was nothing there worthy of the attention of an Englishman, for that his whole stock consisted of breviaries and dry Catholic treatises of divinity."—Pp. 118, 119.

After giving an account of the good priest's ready hospitality, and regret at not being as well provided for his guests as he could have wished, the narrative continues as follows:—

"So, after everything was prepared and arranged to our satisfaction, we sat down to dine on the bacon and eggs, in a small room, not the one to which he had ushered us at first, but on the other side of the doorway. The good curate, though he ate nothing, having taken his meal long before, sat at the head of the table, and the repast was enlivened by his chat. . . . . I had till then considered him a plain uninformed old man, almost simple, and as capable of much emotion as a tortoise within its shell; but he had become at once inspired: his eyes were replete with a bright fire, and every muscle of his face was quivering. The little skull-cap which he wore, according to the custom of the Catholic clergy, moved up and down with his agitation; and I soon saw that I was in the presence of one of those remarkable men, who so frequently spring up in the bosom of the Romish Church, and who to a childlike simplicity, unite immense energy and power of mind—equally adapted to guide a scanty flock of ignorant rustics in some obscure village in Italy or Spain, as to convert millions of heathens on the shores of Japan, China, or Paraguay.

"He was a thin spare man of about sixty-five, and was dressed in a black cloak of very coarse materials; nor were his other garments of superior quality. This plainness, however, in appearance of his outward man, was by no means the result of poverty; quite the contrary. The benefice was a very plentiful one, and placed at his disposal annually a sum of at least 800 dollars, of which the eighth part was more than sufficient to defray the expenses of his house and himself; the rest was devoted entirely to the purest acts of charity. He fed the hungry wanderer, and despatched him singing on his way, with meat in his wallet and a peseta in his purse; and his parishioners when in need of money, had only to repair to his study, and were sure of an immediate supply. He was, indeed, the banker of the village, and what he lent he neither expected nor wished to be returned. Though under the necessity of making frequent journeys to Salamanca, he kept no mule, but contented himself with an ass, borrowed from the neighboring miller. 'I once kept a mule,' said he, 'but some years since, it was removed without my permission by a traveller whom I had housed for the night; for in that alcove I keep two clean beds for the use of the wayfaring, and I shall be very much pleased, if yourself and friend will occupy them, and tarry with me till the morning.'"—Pp. 119, 120.

There is another author to whom we refer with pleasure on this subject, one with whose motives for visiting Spain we have nothing to do, for we have no political feelings to express, but whom we have read with pleasure, because he everywhere does justice to the Spanish character and people, and looks more at their great and noble qualities than at their faults—too many of them the fatal growth of modern events and present circumstances. Of Espartero he is an admirer and evidently a friend; and on this score even we

are not disposed to quarrel. For we have nothing to say about the Duke of Victory as a general, or a good companion at arms; but as an oppressor of God's Church, and the promoter of anti-religious schemes, as the author of the wicked attempt to drive Spain into schism, we consider him an enemy to his country, as well as to a higher kingdom. But with the author of the work in question—*Scenes and Adventures in Spain, from* 1835 *to* 1840, we wish to be on good terms, because as we have said, he looks with kindness on a people, whose frank and cordial hospitality, whose unvarying courtesy from high to low, whose bold and generous daring, and whose essentially religious character, it is impossible not to admire and love, where narrow national prejudices or religious bigotry have not warped the feelings. In this author we everywhere find the clergy of every class, particularly the parochial clergy, the *curas* (though we think he sometimes extends the application of the term), kindly and respectfully spoken of, sometimes as learned men, at others as liberal, always as kind-hearted, hospitable, charitable.*

* See vol. i. pp. 51, 64 ,129, 328; vol. ii. 82. In the first of these passages, we have an interesting view of the conduct of the clergy, during the hottest of the civil war. "I was lodged at the house of a *cura* or clergyman. There were ten *curas* in this small place, five of whom were Carlists, and five of constitutional principles. My worthy host happened to be of the latter persuasion. Nothing could exceed the kindness of the old gentleman: he came and sat by me, as did his nephew, a very superior young man. . . . .

And there is a tone of kindliness in all this that sits well on the soldier, though we do not see what business he had there.

We might dilate further on this subject, had we space, by citing works written by the clergy, which would amply show that there is no want of theological learning among them. Indeed, much of the matter which we have had occasion to treat of, in speaking on the episcopacy, will apply to this part of our subject. But since the want of biblical knowledge is what such writers, as have hitherto guided the public mind in England, mostly impute to the Spanish clergy, we will only say, and every traveller will bear us out in it, that the sermons delivered by them to the people contain as many texts of Scripture, and allusions to its history, and applications of it, as any which will be heard in the pulpits of the Church of England. And we have noted another thing, that those preachers are most popular there, and have the most crowded audiences, who are most distinguished by strong sense, and who deliver solid doctrine. We have seen a cathedral full to listen

'How do you get on [our author asked] with the Carlist *curas?*' 'Oh! we never meddle with their politics, nor they with ours. As the numbers are equally divided, each party forms its own little council of state, and we leave our politics at the church door.' 'I wish such were more generally the case in my country,' said I." In p. 82 of the second volume, will be found an example of equal kindness and hospitality from a Carlist *cura*, on whom the author was billeted at Onate.

to a sermon, and we have afterwards heard every one, man and woman, speak of it in terms of highest commendation; yet we noticed not in it one flowery phrase, one flight of rhetoric, nay, not even one appeal to the passions; but it was one of the most precise, clear, and striking expositions of a great point of moral doctrine (the danger of relapse after forgiveness) which we have ever heard. And from beginning to end it was thoroughly Scriptural. We have before us a confutation, by a parish priest, of Mr Hartwell Horne's "Romanism the enemy to the Bible," and some Rev. Mr. Nevins's "Thoughts on Popery," * which is entirely based upon Scripture authorities.

III. We must now proceed to another class partly forming a portion of the clergy, partly depending upon its fate—the communities, suppressed and existing, of religious orders. The government of 1835, a *moderado* government too, in one fell swoop extinguished the whole conventual body, dispersed the monks and friars, forbade the nuns to receive novices (with the exception of St. Vincent of Paul), seized all the revenues of both, under the name of national property, and assigned a pension to each member, which, as we shall see, has been hardly ever paid at all. The proceedings here were not, as with us under Henry VIII., the result of a pretended process, whereby

* Demostracion en que se manifesta que la Fe y Religion de los Protestantes no es la de la Biblia Por D. F. P. Dominguez. Cadiz, 1841.

religious houses were condemned to be suppressed because fallen into a state of relaxation and wickedness. Modern governments go not round about in that fashion—they seek not to cloak religious spoliation—they first declare ecclesiastical, to be national, property, that is, their own, and then take it.

We will gladly introduce an account of the suppression of the religious orders, by an eye-witness, whose very remarks will show that he is not prejudiced in favor of this order of men. It is the author of the *Scenes and Reminiscences.*

"Eighteen months after these melancholy and disgraceful events [the massacre by the mob of eighteen Jesuits and sixty friars], the monasteries were abolished, the buildings and spaces of ground they occupied became national property, and Madrid has undoubtedly been greatly improved and embellished, by the opening of new and commodious streets and thoroughfares, where heretofore ungainly masses of building and blank walls encumbered the most frequented quarters of the capital. Certain convents still continued to be tenanted by such nuns of the several religious orders, as preferred to adhere to a life of seclusion.

"While admitting that the above changes have, in most respects, been beneficial, one cannot look with indifference upon the melting away of ancient institutions, nor withhold our respect for certain associations connected with them. Learning, arts, and sciences, could never have arrived at their present approximation to maturity, had they not been cradled in the monasteries. It is well that intelligence should have become invigorated and sharpened by the open air of the great world: the close cells of the monasteries were no doubt deleterious as society developed itself; let us only bear in mind, that in its infancy, science was nurtured in the monastic institutions, whose venerable cloisters have

been paced by many a learned, wise, and virtuous recluse, the result of whose meditations and labors has paved the way to those discoveries of which the present generation is justly proud.

"As to the amount of real practical virtue, the greater prevalence of Christian graces, the true spirit of Christian charity, it is after all doubtful, perhaps, whether if an authentic comparative statement could be obtained, the balance would be in our favor. Religious differences and the animosities growing out of them, are but too rife in this our own country, and are producing deplorable scenes, which, if they shall be permitted to continue, will, it is to be feared, strike to the very root of society.

"With regard to morals, it is only necessary to read the public journals and the official reports to convince us that we have a frightful sum on the wrong side of the account; to say nothing of the heaps of crime daily accumulating, which are never exposed to the light of day.

"When visiting or describing countries where monastic institutions exist, we are all too apt to exclaim, 'What a number of mendicants! How deplorable to see the convent gates beset by lazy beings, who prefer to drag on a squalid existence, sustained by the soup and alms doled out to them by the monks, to earning an honest livelihood by the labor of their own hands! It were a good work to suppress the monasteries, if only to put an end to this evil.'

"This is all very well, as far as it goes; it is indeed good for man to work for his support. But are *we* exempt from the ills attendant upon idleness? Is not society here more seriously impaired by thousands who contrive to fasten themselves upon it, by means quite at variance with active honesty, than it ever was by Lazars on convent steps?

"Let us then endeavor to amend ourselves, and to be just and charitable in speaking of our neighbors."—Pp. 249—252.

The consequence of these violent proceedings against religious men, was, that thousands of individuals, totally unfit for the change, were

thrown upon the world, men too in many instances worthy of a very different fate. We will once more appeal to our authorities. The author of the *Revelations of Spain* writes as follows:—

"The exclaustrado member of one of the closed religious houses, is the most melancholy character in modern Spain. Thrown upon a world with whose ways he has no familiarity, extruded from his cloister, as the name implies, he has no consolation unless he be enthusiastically devotional, and passionately wedded to the religious observances which formed at once the business and pastime of his previous existence. He is entirely unfitted for the ordinary pursuits of life; and the pension allotted him by the government as compensation for the subsistence which he before enjoyed, is both inadequately small, and paid with an irregularity, which reduces it to the level of casual alms. Many of these unfortunate men are at times compelled to go out at dusk and beg in the streets; while a few who are fortunate enough to possess some literary aptitude, find occupation in schools as assistants, and fewer still as domines or masters.

"The robbery practiced upon these poor outcasts is the worst part of the financial bankruptcy of Spain. In no portion of the Peninsula is a single religious house for men left standing—an event of itself, in which there is nothing to deplore; but when the foundations were stripped of their splendid possessions, surely a sufficient subsistence for this generation should have been provided. The convents of nuns have, in many instances, been left standing, but their inmates reduced, for the most part, to compulsory poverty; and on the national holidays, rations are doled out to them and to the jails."—Revelations of Spain, vol. i. pp. 343, 344.

Again, take the following descriptions of individuals of this class:—

"One of the most interesting old men I have ever met was an exclaustrado, who charmed us all at Seville, and

whose convent had been one of the wealthiest in Spain. He was a learned Dominican, polished in his manners, an Hidalgo of 'blue blood,' as the people express it when they mean to describe a very noble family: and the effect of one of the most benevolent faces in the world, was wonderfully heightened by hair of a snowy whiteness. His stated allowance from the government was about £20 a year, and he received less than £10. I shall not easily forget Fray Fernando de la Sacra Familia."—Revelations of Spain, p. 345.

"In an old arm-chair, near the kitchen fire at my quarters, sat a stout placid-looking man dressed in rusty black; he was brother to the *patron* and was an *exclaustrado*, that is, an uncloistered friar, who, upon the abolition of the monasteries, had repaired to the fraternal roof. His age was about fifty-five; the pension of five reals—about a shilling—a day, awarded by the government to each friar, had not been paid him; yet he made no complaint. He adhered to the rules of his order, as far as a non-residence in a monastery would permit, and he assured me that, if he had his life to pass over again, and could choose for himself, he would become a Franciscan friar; he appeared to be a simple-minded, contemplative man, and I regarded him with great respect, on account of his voluntary adherence to his vows."—Scenes and Adventures, p. 314.

And who, will we boldly ask, would refuse to honor such a man? Yes, that holy Franciscan of Seville, who is ridiculed by the thoughtless youth, because under the winter's rain, or summer's scorching sun, he carries the hat, forced upon him by his change of dress, in his hand, and goes bareheaded in obedience to his rule, is to us an object of sincere veneration, a proof that the religious houses were not peopled by men without vocation, or the spirit of those holy institutes. But in every part of Spain we meet with the survivors of that

destructive deluge, though thrown upon a new, and to them almost unknown coast, seeking to cultivate the barren soil, which, thanks to private charity, has not in every instance proved ungrateful. They will be found preaching with zeal and energy, hearing confessions, serving as valuable assistants to the parochial clergy, and when all fails, received as chaplains into private families. For here, too, the charity of the faithful has shown itself noble; and in many families will be found the exile from his cloistered home, treated with all the consideration of a member of the household. In Portugal, where the storm has been even more furious and more unsparing than in Spain, we were told of one noble lady, who though in other respects of *liberal* politics, kept, clothed, and supported no fewer than fourteen uncloistered religious. Among the most learned of the clergy, are the professors and superiors of the suppressed orders, men to whose abilities and acquirements all bear testimony. And it has gone to our hearts when conversing with one of these respectable, but broken-hearted men, to see the tears gush into his eyes, and hear him turn off the conversation, because, as he said in broken accents, he could not bear to think of his dear monastery, and of the happy years he had spent in it. A gentleman living near the market-place of a large town, informed us, that he had often seen, early in the morning before people were about, some poor old ex-religious creep out in a tattered cloak, and buy

a couple of small fish, hardly a farthing's worth, for his daily sustenance. For, as has been before observed, the miserable pension allotted to them is hardly ever paid; and more than once we have been asked for alms in the street by them.

But the fate of the nuns has been still more cruel; their virtue has been more severely tried; and the charity of the faithful has been more conspicuously manifested in their behalf. We have said that they were forbidden to receive novices, and that their possessions were seized; but, moreover, it was ordered, that so soon as the number of a community was reduced to twelve, these should be incorporated with some other house. And often this has been done without waiting for such a diminution. Hence, it is not uncommon to find in one house, two, or even three, different orders, following in every respect different rules and plans of life, and having each its respective superior. Poor things! people in the world, if they care about such a matter, will not comprehend its hardship. They will not understand what it is to have chosen, in the warmth of youthful love, the standard under which they were to live and die—to have admired with ardor the holy founder of the order to which they have been drawn by grace—to have knitted a sacred family bond, with a mother in the spiritual life, with sisters of a holy kindred—to have passed years of tranquil joy on the same spot; till every wall reflected some happy recollection back to thought, every altar and image

in the cloister was associated in the mind with some grace received, some blessed inspiration—to have become as a part of that choir in which they have sung the praises of God, till they thought nothing on earth so heavenly as their own sanctuary; nay, even to have clung to the very grave in which sisters in faith and love have been laid to sleep, and looked forward with peace to its repose; and then to be rudely torn from all that had thus become dear to their affections, and be carried away, and thrust in where *they* must feel as intruders, among another community of different rule and habit, where there is not one recollection, one association with their past life; where the little appliances of daily and hourly devotion are not at hand, and the feelings have to begin anew to form and adapt themselves, in that age when they have but little pliancy, and in a land not their own;—no, perhaps few, who have not witnessed it, will enter into the severity of this trial. But, thank God, there was virtue, in the holy religious women of Spain, enough to endure it with silent resigna tion. Again and again have we seen such communities living together in cordial unity, calling one another by the name of sisters, the old community doing their utmost to accommodate the new-comers, and render their banishment light. Where there are two choirs and two dormitories, a winter and a summer one, the division was easy, though inconvenient, at every change of season; for one community must occupy the quarters uncon-

genial to the period of the year. In other cases, the suffering must have been much greater.

But let us consider the mode in which this cruel measure was carried into execution. Their property, as we have observed, was all seized. Now, there is a marked difference between the property of male communities and that belonging to convents; and it is, that every one entering any of the latter, brings with her a portion or dowry, and invests it in the house for her maintenance. Suppose a father with two daughters, whom he portions equally; the one marries, and takes her dowry into her husband's family—the other enters a convent, and pays in her portion, on condition of being supported in it for life. The law of the land recognizes the existence of these communities, and considers the investment as sacred as any other. Surely, no plea of justice can be raised for an *ex-post-facto* law, which declares *this* investment not only unlawful in future, but retrospectively null; and seizes upon the property so placed. It would be quite as unjust to declare all joint-stock investments, and all annuities already paid for, national property, carry off the capital, and in it the premiums sunk, and leave the poor annuitants in beggary. This is precisely what has been done. If the state did not choose to admit the validity of religious vows, even already made, but considered nuns only as female members of the population, then it ought to have granted them at once as full possession as others, of all right to what the

law must still call their own property. But this it would not permit. One or two instances will show the iniquity thus practiced.

In the convent of the Holy Ghost, at Cadiz, we saw a person—we cannot call her a nun, though clothed in the habit, and observing the religious rule—who was just on the point of being professed, when the decree of suppression was issued. Preparatory to it, her dowry was paid in; as good Father Lasso assured us, he himself had counted it down, "ounce upon ounce," in good gold pieces. This was seized, as convent property; and, at the same time, the community was forbidden to receive her profession. They will not let her be a nun, but they have plundered her of her only means of living in the world, to which, however, she has never felt a wish to return. And so for ten long years has she borne the heavy, though sweet, yoke, of the religious life, without the consolation of being incorporated in her community. This, it will be admitted, is a hard case; but the following is harder: A lady, a rich heiress at Madrid, entered a religious house. After two years she became blind, and otherwise afflicted with bad health. While she was in that state, the convent property was all sold, and with it her estates, which, had she chosen to remain in the world, she might have lavished on any vanity, and no one would have interfered; and thus was she left to misery and starvation—literally, to starvation, so far as the government could inflict it. It is true that they set-

tled a pension upon each nun—and what a pension, and how insidiously contrived! For the allowance is of four reals (8*d.*) per day, if they remain in their convents; but of *five* (10*d.*) if they should quit it! Thus was an enticement held out to these poor souls, to leave their religious life, and return to the world; thus did a Catholic government, as it called itself, offer a premium for the violation of solemn vows! Nor were there stronger efforts wanted, in some places at least, to draw away from their holy engagements and secluded life, these consecrated virgins of God. In Cadiz, for instance, the political chief went in person, surrounded by his officers, to the convent, and having made the doors be opened, harangued the nuns, telling them that the day of freedom was come, and that he was there to lead them from their confinement, and that they need not fear their friends or any one else, as he and the government would protect them. He thought, no doubt, like many of his kind, that these good nuns were all captives there against their wills, and longed to be again enjoying the world. But the event showed how mistaken he was: they listened with amazement and disgust at his raving, as it appeared to them; but none followed him. Still the irreligious views of government were sufficiently manifested by these proceedings, which proved that they cared not for engagements, which the Catholic Church holds most sacred.

But if the solid virtue of the Spanish religious women was able to stand the first rude trial, or

rather, if there was not much in the impious proposals and spoliation of their civil rulers, to entice them away from their austere calling, they were soon made to endure another and a far heavier burthen, which could not but put them severely to the test; and it was the penury and misery to which we have alluded. The pension to the nuns has hardly ever been paid; it has always been left in arrears, until some miserable instalment is made, enough, perhaps, to cool public charity, but not to relieve the deep distress of the patient sufferers. For instance, in this last winter, 1844—45, the religious received one quarter's payment on account of 1837! such being the arrears. In one large convent, we were informed, that, in the whole of last year, the payments made had amounted to *nine* dollars, not £2. The consequence has been, that, by degrees, many convents have been reduced to absolute penury. We were shown refectories and cloisters, bare of every ornament, picture after picture having been sold for a trifle to the rapacious broker, to purchase bread. Yes! dry bread often, and nothing more. Yet the local authorities were offended, when the Dean Cepero at Seville, had an alms-box placed outside a convent wall, with the inscription: *Pan para estes religiosas*—"Bread for these nuns." It seemed to them, forsooth, a reproach on *them*, for not paying these poor creatures their miserable stipend, and letting them starve! But we must add another grievance. While these poor creatures

are thus, after being plundered, left in misery, they are (in many instances, at least) compelled to pay all taxes and local imposts. Such, for example, is the case with the Beaterio of the B. Trinity, in Seville, where formerly 200 poor children used to be educated, but where now there are not more than seventy-five. The property of this house consisted chiefly of money lent by it to commissioners, to build or repair churches, who were authorized to give, as security for interest, tithes received by them. But, by the abolition of all tithes (without any compensation whatever to persons having a beneficial interest in them), this was all lost, or rather made over to the holders of titheable property. Yet, as we have said, the whole of the public and local taxes are demanded from them. And we must say, that here, as in all similar establishments in Spain, which we have visited, the appearance of everything indicated, in spite of poverty, the utmost order, neatness and cheerfulness. The children seemed all well employed and happy; they are taught every species of useful and ornamental work, as well as the usual branches of female education, music included, in a most satisfactory manner. And this puts us in mind of one of the most splendid establishments for female education, perhaps, in the world, —"The College," as it is called, for female children at Cordova. As a building, it is far the most spacious, airy, and solid edifice for the purpose, which we have ever seen; the very attics being

superior to the principal floor of many colleges. But, alas! though not under the direction of religious, its funds have come under the capacious definition of "national property," and have been confiscated; and instead of a hundred pupils, which it would well contain, a dozen or so are all that occupy its magnificent halls: but these few, we must add, seem as happy as children can be, and receive a good and efficient education.

But to return. This hard and unceasing trial, this daily struggle against poverty, and in so many cases the painful removal from their own house, and the hourly inconvenience of being in a strange one, the increasing infirmities of old age and sickness, aggravated by want and grief, without the cheerful support and nursing care of a younger family of novices or newly-professed sisters, the sorrowful prospect too of seeing no succession, no hope of perpetuity for the house and order which has been the object of tenderest affection, and the feeling, on the contrary, that in them expires and drops p'ece neal into the tomb, the community which perhaps a saint founded many hundred years ago, and with it the holy traditions and the devotions of a es, these and many other afflictions heaped upon the heads of thousands of unoffending women, who had shrunk early from the world to escape its anxieties, might have been enough to wear down their spirit, and drive many of them from their house of sorrow, to homes where they would have been welcome. But

while, in us who contemplate this treatment, it cannot fail to excite a feeling of execration against revolutions, or maxims, which can suggest it; while we, who are but calm spectators, are tempted to wonder (in the terms of mild reproach addressed of old by a martyred virgin to her judge), whether they were born of woman who could thus treat her, in her holiest form; far different has the effect been upon those, who had long extinguished resentment and anger within their breast. We have visited upwards of twenty communities in various places, and have frequently conversed with them: and we have seen them in different moods: we have found some sinking more than others, under the depression of their condition, more sickly in body, more discouraged in spirits; we have seen others, more buoyant and hopeful, possessing all that habitual brightness and joyful glee, which every one acquainted with religious communities knows to be their peculiar feature, as cheerful as if they were not in deep distress, in which we knew them to be. But in no case has a murmur escaped, or a harsh word, from any lip. The chalice has been drunk, though bitter, with mild resignation: "It is the adorable will of God," "May the will of God be done," such were the expressions which we invariably heard. The tear, indeed, could not be repressed, but it was soon wiped away with some such words as these; and confidence in God, and hope in the intercession of His blessed Mother, came ever as

a sunbeam to restore serenity and joy. For Spain was the earnest thought and fervent prayer—for "poor afflicted Spain," as they would call it, for its speedy restoration to the full communion of the Apostolic See, towards which their attachment was unbounded, and for wisdom to its rulers, to re-establish religion on its proper footing. They could not believe that God would abandon a country which had sent so many glorious intercessors into His presence. Nor must we omit the interest felt, and expressed, for our own country, their anxious inquiries about the truth of a great religious movement in England, and the joy manifested at hearing about our own convents, and at learning that here, at least, they were not persecuted and distressed.

With such principles and feelings, we cannot wonder that the offer of emancipation was like a dead letter, and that all the suffering inflicted has not been able to break up the religious communities of Spain, but on the contrary has been as a fiery crucible, to show their sterling virtue, and increase its purity and brightness. Instances of nuns who have left the religious life to return to the world we could not find; not a scandal have the enemies of religion been able to discover, or retail, in justification of their sacrilegious acts. We heard of three or four, who, driven from their own homes, and finding their communities broken up, had retired to their families, or into *Beaterios*, where they have continued to lead secluded and

edifying lives. But it would be difficult to allege more: and this surely is but little, especially considering the great numbers subjected to the trial.

It will be seen by what we have written, that we think it speaks well of the religion of Spain, and augurs better for its future hopes, to possess within it so well-tried a body of religious women, whose virtue and prayers cannot fail to bring down many blessings on the country which has given them to the Church, and who, though hidden, are a leaven that will not fail to act on all society. The day will come, when the native historian will dwell on the heroic fortitude, the untiring patience, the unrelaxing piety and saintly bearing of the religious women of Spain; when the petty glories of revolutionary statesmen will have faded away; when the Esparteros and Olózagas will be looked upon as experimentalists on a nation's welfare, and the destroyers or disturbers of its holiest institutions; the victims of their revolutionary policy, those whose most sacred feelings were considered not worth regarding, and whose gradual extinction by affliction or starvation was an element in their system not worth calculating, will form an additional ray in the national glory, and be justly held up to reverence, as a boast and honor of their country.

Nor will there be less praise due to the people, who have generously sympathized with them, and stood between them and the cruel dealings of those in power. For as in former subjects of which we

have treated, so in this, we must not omit the hopeful evidences of religiousness, furnished by the people, in the feelings which they have exhibited towards this oppressed class. Had it not been for that charity, which in Spain seems inexhaustible, death would long ago have reduced the estimate in the yearly budget for the nuns' support to zero. But no sooner was the lamentable destitution of these holy women known, who by their patience and piety had won the esteem and compassion of all, than in every city societies of ladies were formed, to collect alms for their maintenance. Nobles of the first class were to be seen at the church-doors soliciting the charity of the faithful on their behalf; private and secret benefactions were added, as well as fixed monthly subscriptions; and thus only has a miserable pittance been secured for the religious, and their daily bread at least supplied. A faithful account of the administration of these funds has been always published.

For example, the accounts of the society at Madrid, where the queen-mother takes the lead in this, as in every other work of charity, give the following results:—

On hand at the end of March last (about)	£338
Collected in the month of April . . .	305
	643
Expenditure	275
Balance	£368

The details are of course given in the accounts; but our object is to show how considerable a sum is collected for this object alone; as, taking the subscription of April to represent an average collection, we have £3,600 per annum contributed in Madrid alone.* In Barcelona, the city which of all others is considered in England as most advanced in liberal and revolutionary principles, and perhaps on that account as less religious (though most unjustly), the report of last year's subscription is no less creditable. The duchess of Gor, president of the association there, presented it last March; and she observes, that the plan of the society at Barcelona has given such satisfaction, that applications from Valencia, Santander, Granada, Zaragoza, and other cities, have been made for copies of its rules. She speaks in high terms of the zealous efforts made by the provisional government, that took up the reins which fell from Espartero's hand, as well as by the present one, to make good the just demands of the poor religious; but observes that the exhaustion of the public treasury has rendered, as yet, all their attempts abortive. In the mean time the society had collected, and applied to the relief of the nuns of Barcelona, in the past year, the sum of £2,600.† In Seville there are twenty convents, containing 486 nuns, all dependent upon the charity of the faithful, communicated in great measure

* El Catolico, 26 May, this year. This is an excellent daily paper.

† Pensamiento, tom. i. p. 60.

through this society.* The same, in fact, may be said of every city and town. In Malaga, this branch of charity has been most zealously cultivated; but in the month of January it was announced, that, the government having begun to pay the nuns' pensions, the society would discontinue its contributions, except in favor of the sick and disabled, who might require additional assistance. And this, we believe, was by the wish of the religious themselves. But we must not omit honorable mention of the conduct of the political chief there, Sr. Ordoñes, a young man indeed, but one of whom every rank and class, rich and poor, clergy and laity, speak not only with respect, but with affection. On behalf of the nuns he has been indefatigable and often did we hear them gratefully speak his praise. His plan was an excellent one for securing them a supply of food. It was this: all fines imposed by the police tribunals he had paid in bread, and sometimes in other food; the person fined was directed to what convent he should take the quantity exacted from him, and was obliged to produce a receipt from it, as well as a certificate of its good quality; otherwise it was paid over again. He informed us that by these means, 10,000 loaves had been given to the nuns last year; and that on one day the Capuchin nuns had seventy pounds

* Among the contributors last year to the funds for the nuns in this city, we observe the name of the Count Mellerio of Milan, whose noble charities at home are by no means sufficient to satisfy his piety.

of bread. In Granada also the authorities have behaved most kindly to the religious, since the change of government. There are yet no fewer than nineteen communities of them: several had been expelled from their houses; but they have all been restored, and even in one case, where the house had been destroyed, another has been provided for them.

All that we have said reflects credit on the people of Spain, as well as upon its religious; for it proves that the former knows how to appreciate the sterling virtues of the latter. But could we hope that our words would ever be heard by that people itself, or by its rulers, we would not be content to stop here, with barren commendations of the spirit of faith and charity, which has been called forth by the cruel oppression practiced in that people's name. For, disguise it as we may, it is by the *will* of the Spanish people, wrongfully represented by those in power, that cruelty and oppression have been practiced. There is, consequently, a further obligation,—that of reparation. It is not enough to let those holy communities sink with greater comfort into the grave; but it is a duty to snatch them thence, and replace them on their proper footing, to restore to them what has been unjustly (as all but a mere fraction of fanatics will agree) torn from them, to give them again vitality and perpetuity, to let them once more open their gates to those who seek refuge and security from the world's perils; that so there may be, in a coun-

try fearfully distracted by political violence, some sheltered abodes of peace, where holier thoughts and purer breathings may atone for the rankness of earth's villanies, and where the voice of innocent prayer may, in time of need, avert calamities, and stay uplifted vengeance.

We will not disguise our sentiments; for every reflection and every observation, which we have made or can make, has brought us to a further conclusion; that never was there a more ill-timed measure than the suppression of the religious orders of men, as well as of women, and that it is of absolute necessity to the honor and welfare of the country, that they be restored. We do not say how far limitations might be introduced, or checks imposed upon rash professions; * this is matter in which, as in so many other things, the wisdom of the Holy See would show itself. But we unhesitatingly say, it will one day be a melancholy thought for Spain, that in one hour, she overthrew the work of ages, annihilated the creations of some of her best and greatest children, and renounced the glory of having given them birth. For whatever else the present generation may choose to pride itself, on whatever ground they may please to base the national honor (and no country can exhibit

* We were informed by persons most favorably inclined to the religious orders, that they were injured by the too easy admission of new novices, after the Duke d'Angoulême's occupation, when they were restored after having been suppressed. Anxiety to fill up the wanting numbers, might easily induce over-great facility in this respect.

more); whether on the conquests of her two Ferdinands, or on the discovery and possession of a new world, or on the splendor of her arts; we will venture to say that none of these are more justly matter of boast, than to have given birth to so many men, who by the combination of extraordinary genius with extraordinary virtue, have influenced the destinies of all the world, in its highest interests, and yet turn the eyes of Christianity, with admiration and gratitude, towards their country. At a time when the rest of Europe was convulsed with religious throes, that gave birth to the hydra-creeds of modern times, while Britain and Germany were producing, and fostering, such living calamities as Knox and Cranmer, Luther and Munster, Spain was richer in great and holy characters than almost any part of the world had ever been before, or has been since. She produced, in little more than one generation, St. Ignatius, St. Francis Xavier, St. John of God, St. John of the Cross, St. Peter of Alcantara, St. Joseph Calasanctius, St. Francis Borgia, St. Thomas of Villanueva, and St. Teresa; not to speak of such persons as Cardinal Ximenes, John d'Avila, Marina d'Escobar, and a host of others eminent for piety, learning, and genius. Suffice it to say, that in the hall of the bishop of Valencia's palace, which yet remains, there were once assembled together in the time of its bishop, St. Thomas of Villanueva, no fewer than seven persons, who were afterwards canonized by the Church.

If a parallel were instituted between Columbus

and St. Francis Xavier, it would be hard, even for an admirer of mere natural qualities, to give preference to the former; and they who consider spiritual and eternal advantages as far superior to the carnal and temporal, would not hesitate in their conclusion. The energy, the perseverance, the tact, the self-devotion, the courage, the merging of every selfish feeling in enthusiasm for one grand object; these great moral qualities are fully as great in the saint as in the discoverer, while we have still in reserve a multitude of higher and nobler gifts, which will bear comparison with nothing else. And surely there was no man of that age, and hardly of any other, who displayed so wonderful a power of influencing and directing others, and combining the elements of many varied characters for one grand object, than he who communicated to St. Francis the energy of will and action necessary for his purpose,—the chivalrous soldier of Christ, the *Hidalgo* of the cross. St. Ignatius, surely, is a character of whom any nation might be proud, whether he be considered personally, or in his influence on the world, as a noble specimen of rare and sublime qualities long concealed, but on a sudden developed, and brought instantaneously to full maturity, under the influence of grace, like "the winged flower" issuing from its chrysalis. We see the valiant soldier and ambitious knight, sicken in prison, only to come forth the greatest master of the spiritual life, the general of a religious army, whose lines soon

extend from Peru to Japan, the founder of a most wonderful school of every sacred science,* and the educator of hundreds of martyrs to glorify the Church. Again, as a specimen of the most noble active charity, who can fail to revere the memory of St. John of God? The traveller, that visits Granada, thinks at once of nothing but the Alhambra, and rushes, with eagerness, to scale its steep ascent, and spend hours and days, in admiring its fragrant gardens and groves, its noble halls, and its delicate adornments. And they deserve certainly the most enthusiastic admiration; and no one, we are sure, can have felt this more than ourselves; as none have had better opportunity, from the peculiar courtesy shown us, of seeing all to every advantage. But in that noble and most beautiful city, our interest was claimed by other objects, beyond the remnants of Moorish skill and power; by that series of recollections, preserved by monuments, of the charitable zeal of him, to whom all Europe owes the existence of hospitals such as they now exist. There we could, and did, visit the cell, now a chapel, in which John of God was confined as a madman, in what was then, and yet is, the public asylum; so strange and new did his conduct on behalf of the poor appear to his fellow-towns-

* Spain must share the praise of the wonderful theological learning, soon displayed in St. Ignatius's order. Such divines as Suarez, Sanchez, Vasques, Moldonatus, Villalpandus, and a host of other writers, are not to be surpassed in any other country.

men; and the heavy log of wood, which, according to the usage of the times, was attached to him, hangs over the altar of the church. There is the magnificent hospital, now part of the same house, built by the "Catholic kings," from the windows of which he threw the beds of the sick (whom he had borne unscathed one by one in his arms) in the midst of a raging fire: there the splendid new hospital which he himself served till near his dying day, and within its church the truly gorgeous chapel in which he lies enshrined.* But the place of his death is still more interesting. When so ill that he could scarcely stand, he continued to creep from bed to bed, attending and nursing his sick; and when invited by the Count de las Pisas to retire to his house for a few days, to remain quiet and regain his strength, it required the command of the bishop to induce him to accept it. There he was visited by that holy prelate, who found only one uneasiness on his mind,—the debts, trifling in amount, which he had contracted, not for himself, but for the poor. The good bishop took all these upon himself, and John received the rites of the Church with rapturous devotion. He was left alone, and when next visited, was found dead, kneeling in the middle of the room, with his crucifix clasped fast in his hands,

* The shrine itself is of silver, and was redeemed by the zealous chapter from General Sebastiani. The silver columns and dome which canopied it were, however, carried off by the French, and are now replaced by others of wood.

erect as if still in prayer; to the admiration of the crowds, who for three hours were admitted to see so consoling a spectacle. And there is room in that hospitable house, yet preserved for the devotion of the faithful, with the spot hallowed by so saintly a death carefully railed off; and near the house is the little church, the bell of which, spontaneously tolling, announced that death. Had the city of Granada erected in its square a monument to him, instead of the vile, heathenish desecration called by that name (made up we were told of the fragments of marble altars), which commemorates the victims of their own wicked passions in late revolutions, it would have shown itself better able to appreciate what gives moral grandeur to a nation. But we must not impute to the whole population what was the work of the turbulent few.

Yet continuing, but for one moment longer, our remarks on the same subject, we cannot pass over in silence that class of contemplatives, whose greatest names are in the list which we have given, whose writings form the very keys and guiding-lines for the deep and intricate recesses of ascetical and mystical theology. No nation on earth can show anything superior or more wonderful; and Spain may defy the world to produce a woman equal in intellect, in energy, in elevation of thought and solidity of judgment, to the incomparable St. Teresa: that union of a powerfully masculine mind with the tenderest female heart.

We have, in the names above enumerated, the

founders of no less than four great religious orders, as well as the reformer of another, equivalent to a new one.* And it is further striking, that none in the Church have preserved the spirit in which they were founded more permanently and fully, than every one of these.† Now, on the other hand,

* St. Peter of Alcantara, whose order, as has been observed in the text, was still in the fervor of its penitential spirit when suppressed. In Portugal this was strikingly the case. Every traveller in that country is sure to visit the celebrated "Cork Convent," so called from its cells (being mostly cut out of the rock) being lined with cork, to keep out the damp. The convent is situated in a wild district, between Cintra and Collares, and is almost buried in the side of a wooded rock. It can hardly have been surpassed in poverty and rudeness by anything in the deserts of Egypt. Some of the cells are 4 feet by 3½, others a little longer; but none exceed six feet in length. The doors are little more than three feet high. The refectory is about nine feet in length, having in the centre a long rough stone, two feet high, for its table, with stone seats round. Every other part is on the same scale of dimensions and poverty. When the convents were all suppressed in Portugal, this house was filled with fervent religious, who had not any property to tempt, or excuse, the cupidity of the government: yet they were turned adrift on the world without mercy. They surely might have been left to end their days in peace, in their quiet nook. The same is to be said of Arabida, on the other side of the Tagus, where St Peter of Alcantara himself lived, and in which a no less penitential spirit prevailed, when the religious orders were suppressed.

† The Teresians, or discalced Carmelites, have ever been, and yet are, among the most edifying orders in the Church. The author of the *Revelations of Spain* gives it as a proverbial phrase: "I would not believe it, even if it were told me by discalced or barefooted friars."—Vol. ii. p. 348. We were

what has the government of Spain done, and what has its people permitted, but the annulling of the work, the wonderful work, of these greatest among its national heroes, declaring that its results, after enduring three hundred years, ought to be treated as a national blemish, of which they are ashamed and glad to be at length rid; that those religious orders, which civilized for them the vast continent of America, and made Paraguay a terrestrial paradise, built, endowed, and served in every city magnificent hospitals, erected every where colleges and schools for gratuitous education of the poor, and everywhere imprinted on the country its strongest religious features, have been but nuisances, which an enlightened age must sweep away! Surely when Spain is once more fully awakened from the dream, in which the cup of revolutionary intoxication as yet partly keeps her, she will feel both pain and shame at the work of destruction which she has recklessly committed, and seek to repair its damage. She will once more boast of the great names which she has given to the Church's calendar, cherish the memory of her holy children, and not allow the monuments of their glory to perish. She will recall to mind too, that the most glorious monarchs in her annals, have been the most zealous likewise in founding religious houses, and erecting temples to the living God; such as James the Conqueror, Alonzo the

much struck by several convents of nuns of this order in Spain.

Wise, St. Ferdinand of Castile, and his namesake, with Isabella: while only under such monarchs as Peter the Cruel, the foe of God and man, do we find recorded such deeds as have been acted of late, in the plundering and suppression of holy institutions.

And to have acted as she has done, at the very moment when, in the rest of Europe, the delusion of ages was passing away, like the morning mist before the sun! To be suppressing her religious orders, wrecking their houses, and oppressing their members, just when England was beginning to wish that *she* could undo the work of that destruction, which took place 300 years ago! What a contrast! Henry VIII. and his impious ministers were destroying the monastic institutes, and ruining our matchless abbeys, nearly at the time when Spain was erecting new conventual edifices, and purifying and promoting that very state. And now that we have had the miserable experience of three centuries to enlighten us, we curse the deed, and the day when it was done; and visit and kiss the stones of our ruined sanctuaries, and mourn over the loss of those who tenanted them, and make weak, but sincere efforts, to restore them. And that not only *we*, who have therein lost a noble inheritance, but those who would rival us, and who have, beyond our sorrow, the remorse that their fathers, in their blindness, perpetrated the work of destruction. Yes, Protestant England is sighing, through its most virtuous children, for

the restoration of monastic life; and Catholic Spain, at the very time, thinks she is making progress, and showing herself enlightened, in destroying it—waits to do it, till they who have done it before, are grieved and ashamed! But other examples, too, ought to have deterred them. Every other state, which has walked in the footsteps of England, in this unhappy work of destruction, has shown marks of repentance. Austria, which, under Joseph II., abolished the religious orders, has begun to restore them. The Jesuits have been re-established in Gallicia and Lombardy; the order of St. John of God is most flourishing in the latter province, as is that of St. Joseph Calasanctius; and the same is to be said of Tuscany, where the Capuchins and other orders are again established. The king of Bavaria has readmitted the Jesuits, and has founded Benedictine houses. France itself countenances Christian Brothers, Sulpicians, Lazarists, and the Benedictines of Solesmes; not to speak of religious women, communities of which have been freely permitted: so that no country in Europe has given so many new orders of them to the Church, in our times, as democratic France.

And whence arises this reaction, wherever the spirit which has just passed over Spain, has agitated the nations? Without wishing to question the religious motives that have no doubt prompted it in part, we may safely say, that it has been produced by a feeling of absolute necessity. The

wants and claims of a Catholic population are so urgent and so incessant, that it requires many to satisfy them. The service of the confessional is itself work for many; every sick and dying person must be assisted at home; hospitals, prisons, the galleys, the workhouses, must be constantly attended; then there is all the work of education, and moreover the extraordinary labor of spiritual retreats, missions, and the many demands of private devotion, such as suffrages for the dead, and more particular acts of prayer and piety. All these are more or less necessary for the edification, and spiritual wants, of a Catholic people; they are its daily food, and if it be denied, it must languish and perish. The attempt to make the people moral, by making them philosophers, is a dream long ago vanished; and it must be by the strong morality of religion, by virtue, in other words, that they must be kept in the right path. Now to meet all these demands a mere parochial clergy is not sufficient: it requires an army to be engaged in the good work, persons who can prepare in retirement for great public efforts, who have not *all* to think of, but can divide labor, and who can act powerfully because not always engaged: whose very seclusion, moreover, from the world, whose mortified lives and very habit, invest them with a character of peculiar holiness, and give additional weight to their words. This want will soon be felt in Spain, or rather is beginning to be felt. The suppression of the *Escolapios*, the order of

St. Joseph Calasanctius for education, was soon deplored; and remonstrances poured in to the government for its restoration, from all sides and all classes, without regard to party spirit; the result of which has been a law proposed by the government to the Cortes, at the beginning of this year,* in its favor. This has been passed; so that the government has already taken its first retrograde step in this matter. In like manner it would have been fatal to have suppressed the religious orders in the Philippine islands; and accordingly an exception has been made in their favor there; for the entire population of natives is under the direction of religious orders, chiefly Dominicans. But how is the supply of missionaries to be kept up, if the parent country, which alone can furnish them, is forbidden to train them? We believe, too, that in Biscay, some religious orders, at least, still exist, their protection being secured, as one of the *fueros*, by the Convention of Bergara.† And if it is probable that, before long, the necessity which has impelled other governments to the restoration of these religious corporations will be felt in Spain, and if there are symptoms already manifesting themselves of its arriving, is it not wiser to pause and reconsider the matter soon, before those who have early learnt, and well understand, the rules and principles of that state, pass away, and leave none be-

* Pensamiento, vol. ii. p. 136.

† Independencia, etc. by the bishop of Canary, p. 353.

hind to connect and attach a new generation to the traditions of the past? before too the very edifices which it has cost so much to erect, and which are so well suited to their purpose, have become utter ruins?

And here, too, we must ask (and oh! that we had weight or influence enough to make our question find an echo in Spain), can anything be more lamentable than the accumulation of ruins which encumber the fairest cities of that country, in consequence of the sale, and either destruction or dilapidation, of conventual buildings? It gives to streets and public squares the appearance of a place tumbling down in decay, or just delivered from a siege. Buildings, which have cost vast sums, are either thrown down in part for the sake of their materials, or are allowed to crumble away. We have seen, in this condition, magnificent edifices, and beautiful specimens of art. The houses of the Carthusians (*Cartujas*), near large towns, and those of the Hieronymites, are grand national monuments, falling gradually to pieces. The *Cartuja*, near Xeres, is, both in plan and in detail, a splendid edifice; its cloisters, its carved choir, its church, are glorious; but it is abandoned to neglect, and must soon perish. But, even in the heart of towns, one may see part of a convent that has been thrown down, perhaps by the municipality, with the intention of opening a square, yet nothing further has been done than making a heap of ruins; or the gable of a church has been

half pulled down, and the gilded roof is opened to day, as if enemies, and not friends, dwelt round about. The destruction of real national property, in works of antiquity and the arts, has been great and irreparable; and there is no means of saving what remains, except restoring it to its right purposes and to its rightful owners. Nothing but a religious community dwelling in them, can preserve such buildings from ruin.

It is true that many have been converted to other uses—barracks, police offices, drawing academies, etc.; and some good may be supposed to have been got out of them. But we remember having occasion to visit a public officer in such a building at Lisbon, and being struck with his remark:—"This building was a convent: the consequence is, that it is totally unfit for its present purposes. More money has been expended in patching up and changing it into a most uncomfortable public office, than would have built a new and most commodious range of buildings for that purpose. *We are beginning to find out that a convent is only good for a convent.*" And so it is, and every day will increase the regret at what has been done. "Some years ago," writes a Spanish author, "the traveller, on approaching Granada, saw opening before him, in the midst of gardens and high-roofed houses, the domes of churches, and the crosses planted on the summits of the belfries. These pious monuments showed, from a distance, the character of the old state of

society; they were raised by men living in a period when the religious sentiment prevailed. A time has come, in which ancient institutions have suffered shipwreck; and in which, as in a whirlwind, sumptuous works have been razed to the ground; and the slow labor of ages has been undervalued, and the marvellous embodyings of art have disappeared. It is afflicting to view, reduced to ruins, by command or consent of the authorities, most solid edifices and beautiful churches; and on seeing the perseverance with which their demolition is being completed, one is tempted to ask: Is this an age of enlightenment and education, or have the hosts of Genseric risen again from the dust? *

But it is not only by the destruction which has taken place that the arts will suffer, nor yet only, in addition, by the quantity of plunder that has been easily carried off, in consequence; but there will be felt, no doubt, that lack of encouragement, which only stable corporations can give, that have no private interests to consult. It has been thought, perhaps, that an advantage will be gained, by collecting together, in one place, works of art, which before were scattered; by making museums out of the spoils of churches. But, on this point,

* El libro dal Viajero en Granada, por D. M. Lafuente Alcantara. Granada, 1843, p. 245. The author, no doubt, alludes to the destruction of the Carmelite convent of the martyrs, placed in one of the most magnificent situations conceivable.

all that we have seen makes us of Dr. Southey's opinion, when he writes:—

"The pictures of the old masters suffer much when removed from the places for which they (and in which many of them) were painted. It may happen that one which has been conveyed from a Spanish palace or monastery to the collection of Marshal Soult, or any other plunder-master-general in Napoleon's armies, and have passed from thence —honestly as regards the purchaser—to the hands of an English owner, may be hung at the same elevation as in its proper place, and in the same light. Still, it loses much. The accompaniments are all of a different character; the air and odor of the place are different. There is not here the locality that consecrated it—no longer the *religio loci*. Wealth cannot purchase these; power may violate and destroy, but it cannot transplant them. The picture, in its new situation, is seen with a different feeling, by those who have any true feeling for such things." *

No one who visits the collections thus made but must feel the change, and that violence has been done to the artist and his work. The guide or showman tells you eagerly whence each picture came, and under what circumstances it was painted. He and you both feel that there is an advantage and a charm in knowing these things; but the spell and illusion are gone. In the new Seville gallery, a convent with its church, most ill-adapted for the purpose, is a room containing eighteen paintings by Murillo, most of them, if not all, brought from the Capuchin convent. The Capuchins were poor begging friars, they had nothing to give for fine pictures, and yet they had a collec-

* The Doctor, vol. iii. p. 38.

tion fit for an emperor. Such has been the power of these religious bodies over the arts, and how? One of these pictures may tell us; it is the gem of the collection. Murillo was fond of the good Capuchins, and loved to go and spend a few days in spiritual retirement with them. On these occasions he was lodged in the infirmary, probably the only comfortable room in the house. Once as he was leaving, after taking his frugal meal, the good old lay-brother who waited on him, begged him to paint a Madonna for his infirmary, as he had none. "With great pleasure," answered Murillo, "but I have nothing to paint it on." "Would this do?" asked the old friar, showing him his napkin, which he was just taking from the table. "Why not?" good naturedly answered the painter. The square napkin was stretched out, and Murillo soon produced on it his charming *Nuestra Senora de la Servilleta*,—the Madonna of the napkin, so called from this incident. He would not have done this for a nobleman, who had feasted him sumptuously; but he would do it for the humble lay-brother. And now, who would not have gone to any distance to see this beautiful picture, where its legend accompanied it, in the room in which he sat, and talked the matter over with his friend—where we could see the noble artist smiling over his work of art, and the simple-hearted old man, with his fine long white beard, watching eagerly each beautiful feature, as brought out by one master touch, and alternately expressing his amazement and delight

then his triumph at seeing his coarse napkin transformed into a painting worth half the convent, and so sweet and lovely withal, and to be hung there in his room forever! Alas! for ever—no! till some rude hand, guided by a cold heart, should pluck it down from its native spot, and hang it on the wall of a museum, where it had no tale to tell, no associations to give it grace; but where it figures among trophies of the same power which a Vandal could exhibit. For who among those plunderers could have exercised that poor lay-brother's power over the thought and pencil of genius?

We fear we may have wearied our readers by leading them over so desultory a tract, but we must beg their indulgence still further. We have endeavored to show the evils which will be felt from the wholesale measure of suppression and destruction, which has been carried out. But we shall be met by an objection, applied to all orders of the clergy. We are told by all that take the late government's views on Church property, that the great distress of the nation rendered the seizure of all such property a measure of absolute state necessity. Hence no sooner was the royal decree of the 8th of August of last year issued, which suspended the sale of church property, and ordered the income of what was unsold, to be applied to the support of the clergy and the nuns, than remonstrances were made on all sides, chiefly by foreigners, and were loudly echoed in our papers; as

though an act of injustice was thereby committed, against that only claimant who must not be overlooked, the public creditor.* No matter who had been robbed and left to starve at home, the millionaire stock-jobber of London or Paris must not be touched. We have no objection to this; but we believe there never was a more thorough delusion, than the idea that the ecclesiastical property has been, or is, the slightest security to any one.

The sales have been ruinous to the state. The author of the *Scenes and Adventures*, and other travellers, intimate, that there has been no difficulty in finding purchasers for the property, when put up to sale. But he is speaking of Madrid, where, of course, land and buildings must be valuable, and where there will be abundance of capitalists ready to buy. In the provinces this has not been the case. The quiet religious population of the country, and of smaller towns, have shrunk from annexing to their possessions the fruit of sacrilegious robbery; and property has had to be advertised again and again, before it could be sold. The very conditions on which it has been disposed of show that purchasers were often scarce. Every facility for payment is given; and the price obtained is purely nominal. In the first place, the purchaser

* A strong remonstrance on this subject was addressed by several foreign capitalists to Sr. Mon, minister of finance, dated Paris, Sept. 2, 1844, in which they proposed to take into their hands all the unsold property, as security for a new advance of 225 millions of reals. This would have finished the work of spoliation most completely

has eight years to pay in, by instalments fixed at very easy rates. Secondly, he does not pay in money, but in government paper. Now, this is so completely depreciated, as to be worth in the market only eighteen per cent. Such was its value, when we were informed by persons engaged in business, and accustomed to buy it up. If, therefore, a person has a fancy to purchase a convent, or a piece of land belonging to one, and bids for it, and has it knocked down to him for £1,000, he need not be dismayed at the large sum he must raise. He goes into the stock exchange, and there, for £180, he buys a thousand pounds' worth of government paper; and as he has eight years to pay it in, he will only have to disburse £22. 10*s.* per annum, for that period; not two and a half per cent. interest on the nominal purchase-money for eight years! It will be easy to get this annual payment out of the property itself in the time, without raising, or disbursing it. We were informed by a magistrate of a large provincial town, one of its Alcaldes, that there was a portion of convent land so completely intersecting his own, that he rented it from the nuns. When the property was to be sold, he would have been the natural purchaser; but he shrank from such a contamination, and preferred continuing in the character of a tenant to the new purchaser. As the price paid at the auction was publicly known, and his own rent was a fixed sum, he could easily make his calculation, which was, that the rent paid by him

had liquidated the purchase-money in the eight years; leaving the purchaser, moreover, 6,000 reals, or £60 in pocket. A friend of ours purchased an old building, formerly a college, but long since in ruins, at a nominal value of £12,000; but in reality, in government paper, for £2,000, with eight years to pay in.

Such have been the sales effected; and yet, as we have observed, they have not been brisk.* Foreigners, chiefly South Americans, and persons not of great repute for principles, have been the chief purchasers. We must, however, make honorable exceptions. We are acquainted with an excellent family, at Xeres, for instance, who were in the same position, in regard to a small piece of convent land, as the Alcalde alluded to above. Some not very friendly person bid for this, in hopes of afterwards forcing them to buy it from him to his advantage, to escape annoyance. But they outbid him, and bought it, but only with the intention of restoring it again to its rightful owners, when security returns; and, in the mean time, they con-

* "If there had been any general eagerness to buy church property, would one estate, one field have remained unsold within twenty-four hours of the publication of the decree? Would so many years have passed over and only a few have been sold, of estates, the produce of which, in a few months, would have enabled the immoral speculator to pay the price without a farthing capital? Would so many decrees, circulars, and instructions have been necessary, to encourage men greedy of others' goods, to purchase!"—Impugnacion critica By R. P. Fr. Magin Ferrer. Barcelona, 1844, vol. i. p. 19.

tinue to pay their rent as before. They also assured us, that the purchase-money was repaid in a few years. The country residence of a bishop was bought by a worthy nobleman; but we were assured by one of his family, with the design of giving it back to the bishop in better times. We shall not be surprised to hear of many such restitutions, whether from calculation and forethought, or from repentance.

The ruinous character of these sales will further appear from considering their result. After seizing the church property, both regular and secular, and abolishing all tithes,* by which many respectable families, who had their property secured and invested in these, were utterly ruined, for no provision was made for them, government were driven to the necessity of providing funds for the maintenance of the clergy. To effect this, a tax for the *Culto y Clero* was granted, which a nobleman, of highly religious character, and large possessions, assured us was equal to ten per cent. on all property; and yet the clergy and religious are hardly ever paid—partly because the tax is not properly levied, and partly because its funds go to other purposes. Now the following calculations will show what a bad speculation the governments of Spain have made, in the sale of church property.

* The property of the regulars was confiscated in 1835, that of the secular clergy in 1840. Tithes were abolished, under Mendizabal, in 1837. He tried to restore them in the following year, as did Count Ofalia; but it was too late.

The estimates of the Minister of Finance, in his budget for this year, put the annual sum necessary for the endowment of the clergy, at about £1,653,329, to meet which he is obliged to have recourse to most precarious means. Now let us see the value of property sold, and of that yet available.

There have been sold, since 1835, properties belonging to the regular clergy....	76,734	estimated at		£28,772,938
Ditto, since 1840, belonging to the secular clergy....	69.539	"	"	8,072,740
Total sold.	.146,273	"	"	£36,845,678

This property, at five per cent., would give an annual income of £1,842,283, more by £189,956 than the government requires: and at three per cent., would yield £1,105,370, which would leave a deficit of only £547,959.

But then there remain yet unsold many estates of the secular clergy, which the law has restored to them; the annual income of which the Minister of Finance rates at £489,583. This, added to the lower sum set down as income, would have given the government nearly enough to pay all the clergy regularly, and support religion decently at least.* The most inexplicable part of this proceeding is, that between the entrance into power of the present government and the decree

* These data are extracted from the speeches of Sr Egaña in the Cortes, Jan. 11th and 25th of this year.—Pensam. vol. ii. pp. 52. 88, etc.

of suspension of sales, a period of fourteen months, 44,452 properties belonging to the secular clergy, and 12,216 belonging to regulars, in all 56,668, were sold or adjudged! that is, 19,365 more belonging to the seculars, than had been sold in eight previous years.

But ruinous as these sales have been, they have been of not even the small use anticipated—the only way in which they could give security to the public creditor. It was understood that the paper bought up for them and paid into the treasury would have been destroyed, and thus so much public debt have been extinguished. This, however, has not been the case; the same quantity of paper has been kept in circulation, and consequently the same amount of debt has continued to exist.

We must, before we conclude this subject, say a word about the feelings of the people respecting it. No sooner had more moderate counsels begun to prevail, than remonstrances poured in to the queen, on the propriety and justice of restoring to the clergy such property as still remained unalienated. On the 12th of April, 1844, a most beautiful memorial was presented to this effect, by the principal, and most respectable, inhabitants of Vich, in Catalonia.* On the 2nd of May, the flourishing port of Alicante sent in a powerful address in favor of their parish priests; who, they observe, have now to beg from their parishioners

* Pensam. vol. I. p. 248

that charity which formerly they used so freely to dispense; and they indignantly denounce the paltry stipend allotted them by the government,—£34 per annum. "The wages of a porter in a second-rate public office, are the allowance to a curate, a minister of Jesus Christ, employed day and night to feed His flock." Such is their language on behalf of what they call "a meritorious, laborious, respectable, and so unjustly neglected class of men."* On the 14th, the constitutional municipality of Barcelona sent up a most energetic remonstrance against the further sale of ecclesiastical property, chiefly in consequence of notices of sale of several precious monuments of history and the arts; and this was backed by a scientific memorial from the academy of the city.† But the same city had previously, on the 30th of April, addressed the throne directly, against the further sale, and in favor of the restitution, of remaining church property. Had we room, we would gladly give extracts from this powerful memorial, from a city so much misrepresented as to religion; it would show how the *people* of Spain speak of their clergy. And gladly also would we quote the addresses on the same subject, of Mataró in the same month, and of the authorities and people of Santiago in June following.‡ All and many others would give us abundant evidence of the feelings of the great cities towards the Church.

* Revel. p. 264. † Page 285.

‡ P. 374. See also p. 500, the memorial from the provincial deputation of Oviedo.

IV. It is time that we say a few words respecting the last but greatest class, on which the prospects of religion must mainly depend—the population of Spain. The first thing that every traveller, at least with few exceptions, is sure to inculcate, is that the country is in a state of backwardness bordering on barbarity. Roads, inns, modes of traffic, robbers, banditti, assassinations, and such matters, are abundant sources of illustration. Certainly some of them are strange enough to an English traveller, though they would not have been to our fathers a very small number of generations back, when it was a week's journey from York to London, and Hounslow, on the outskirts of London, was as dangerous a pass as any in Spain. And really we may doubt whether, had our country been, ever since we were born, the scene of successive wars, first of invasion, then domestic, we should have improved as we have done, in material comforts. But in judging others, we may be easily mistaken in another way.

We constantly make for ourselves false standards of civilization, drawn from our own wants and customs; and fancy that whatever comes not up to them is rude and barbarous. We hardly ever take into calculation, that almost all our comforts and luxuries, which have to us become indispensable, have reference to climate, and would be the reverse of what we call them, if this were changed. If we look round one of our rooms, we shall see that from this source springs the perfection of all it

contains—the fireplace with its necessaries and accessories of polished marble and polished metal, and smaller ornaments, the curtained window, the canopied bed, the carpeted floor, the well-closing door, the warm-colored walls, and then the easy-chair for long cold evenings, and the many appurtenances of a snug and sheltered retirement, from the keen cutting air. Our luxury is in warmth: suppose it to lie in cold—and how would the absence of most of these things become not only a luxury but a necessity. The marble floor, the cool white wall, the open courtyard, the breezy portico, the sparkling fountain, become comforts; and the ground-floor of a Seville house becomes a more enviable residence, than the most splendid apartment of a northern palace. Nowhere will this appear more striking than in the royal residence of Cintra, where immense halls, with tiled floors, and almost void of furniture, built by the Moors, appear to an English eye as over plain and bare; and still are most perfectly suited to the wants of royalty in such a climate. And as to the poor, when on the 7th of January, we saw the children at eight or nine in the morning, with little more clothing than what they had left their beds in, playing and basking in the sun of Andalucia, reflected from the snow-white walls of their cottages, and every door (one being invariably opposite the other) and window thrown open to admit the genial glow, we could not help thinking that *there* was a luxury which no money could purchase, but which yet was the poor man's

as much as the rich one's. And when, looking into the humble dwellings of a country village at that season, we saw the ceilings hung with clustering bunches of grapes, a winter provision saved from the vintage, we could not but feel that men may be more happy, even in worldly enjoyments, than those whose implements and furniture are of better manufacture, and of greater expense. But even in these respects we may easily come to wrong conclusions. Traveller after traveller stands amazed at, and describes most alarmingly, the first appearance of a Spanish cart. And certainly a primitive machine it is, and "most sadly musical." But travellers go on, upon the principle of *ex pede Herculem*, to deduce by force of said cart, that the Spaniards are in an uncivilized degraded state, and so they will reason upon their plough or their carriage. Now in truth, all these things are no more rude there than they have been in countries where, however, we draw no such conclusions; the plough of Rome, the wain of Greece, or the chariot of Etruria, were as clumsy and as imperfect as those of Spain. And how do we know this? Why of the first we judge from a description in verse, such as all our machine improvements in the textorial art does not enable us to weave; the second, perhaps, from marble chiselled with a skill and delicacy, which our upholstery artists cannot presume to rival; the third from paintings in the tombs of a country town, the glowing colors of which, after being shut up more than two thousand years, all our chemical science cannot

imitate. These rudenesses then were compatible with much refinement, taste, and skill. And even in Spain it would be unjust to pronounce, as many do most rashly, upon the state of the people from such observation. That country, while such objects have been in that condition, has produced artists like Murillo, Velasques, Ribera, Alonzo Cano, and a thousand others, and sculptors like Montanez, and very many more, not to speak of the men who have directed, built, and adorned, with taste, as well as sumptuousness, the countless cathedrals, minsters, and churches that cover the land. Surely a people is not uncultivated that can produce such works.

But there are other qualities beyond these, far more valuable to a people situated as Spain is, just emerging from a succession of political convulsions, in which religion has been awfully shaken. We have seen how all external and material props have been withdrawn from it, while the late government did all in its power, short of the last step, to put the country into a state of schism. The effects must have been dreadful, even with all the advantages of a zealous clergy, on any but a people in whom faith was solidly implanted. Now, this we will boldly assert, that the Spanish people, in the mass, are truly and heartily a Catholic, a believing, a religious people. And first, let us quote, according to our practice, an unsuspected witness: even at the risk of alluding, thereby, to facts already noticed:—

"But religion is so deeply rooted in the national character, that the most furious political storms, which prostrate everything else, blow over this, and leave it unscathed. It is only among the educated male population, that any lack of fervor is witnessed. When these become absorbed in the maze of politics, all other considerations, but intrigue and faction, are lost sight of, and forgotten; but their mothers, sisters, and daughters, young boys, and old men, have abated little of the fervor of other times, or, at least, are as determined churchgoers as their ancestors.

"During the siege of Seville, last summer, mass was celebrated to the sound of the bombs in all the churches daily; and in front of the mattresses, where tender and trembling votaries reposed on the cathedral floor, during the night, in the belief that the sacredness of the renowned Giralda was a sufficient pledge of safety, the host was regularly consecrated. While the cannon was booming in the immediate vicinity, every one of the eighty priests, who are set apart to the service of this mighty house, said mass, or otherwise ministered to a congregation of thousands; and in Barcelona, where the Patulea, after seizing all the property in the city, rifled the churches of their silver and other valuable images, the moment the siege was over, the altars of a hundred churches blazed as if their worship had never been suspended."—Revelations of Spain, pp. 340, 341.

We will deal with facts as we have done throughout.—But, first, we will make an acknowledgment. There can be no doubt that religion must have suffered, and has suffered severely, by late events. Where churches have been left for years without bishops, and parishes but ill provided with priests; where the more extraordinary efforts made from time to time, to rouse the sluggish and alarm the sinner, have been interrupted, by the loss of the religious orders; where, consequently, abuses must

have crept in, and there has been none to correct them, where even wolves have been sent to rule flocks, and only those have been favored who corrupted the faith; it would have been indeed beyond belief, that great detriment should not have accrued, to both faith and morals in the people. But, beyond this, we must consider that the government has done all in its power to shake the foundations of both. The people of Spain, till lately accustomed to see their clergy treated with so much consideration, have been taught to behold them suspended, banished, imprisoned, and even massacred with impunity; they have heard the pope, whose very name inspired reverence, spoken of in public decrees as an usurper, whose very concessions and indulgences the nation repudiated; they have seen the laws of the Church abrogated by the state, their churches turned into workshops, or military stores. Is it wonderful that all these unusual violations of religious feelings, rendered now familiar to the people, should have weakened their principles on other and more important points? The chief magistrate of a large and flourishing provincial town, observed to us, that the abolition of tithes, because they were only enjoined by the commandments of the church, had naturally affected the observance of the Sunday and of holidays, because these were enforced (as to their specific obligations) by the same ecclesiastical authority. And, in fact, one is pained by seeing in cities the increased neglect of those holy observances, though

not by any means to the extent in which it offends one in France; and it must be added, that the civil authorities are interfering to put down the profanation.*

But, notwithstanding all that we may have to deplore, we are confident when we say, that, however the tree may have been lopped, and its glories broken down, the root is there safe and sound; faith exists, and will soon be awakened again. Much that we have already written will prove this. The respect shown to the episcopacy, in the interest taken in religious communities, and in the question of ecclesiastical property, and many other topics, to which we have had occasion to allude, give evidence of lively faith in the people. Indeed, persons of all classes, who have had the best opportunity of knowing the country population, have assured us that the faith has suffered little or nothing in it. If the Spanish peasantry have been justly charged with such gross ignorance, as every traveller speaks of, then may we say, that this has been in part their safeguard. We put the case hypothetically, because we are rather at a loss to reconcile the accusation with

* The author of the *Revelations* complains, we believe not unjustly, of great irreverence shown in processions in Lent and Holy Week. This was owing to young men who joined in them, with anything but good feelings. This year we know, that in some places at least, as in Seville, they were intended to be discontinued, on this very account. (Rev. vol. i. p. 377.) This does not at all apply to the procession of Corpus Christi.

what we sometimes read in these writers. Thus Mr. Borrow finds peasants everywhere ready, not only to accept, but to pay for his Testaments, whether Spanish or Gypsy. Take, for instance, his account of his principal business-like excursion of Bible-hawking into the Sagra, a rural district. His man, Lopez, goes forth with a donkey-load of books and soon returns with empty panniers. "Eight poor harvest-men buy them;" we are told it frequently occurred that the poor laborers in the neighborhood "offered goods for Testaments," and so forth.* All this does not seem to accord with the usual charge of such gross ignorance. But, at any rate, if the ignorance exist, it has been one effectual bar to the mischief attempted, by the dissemination of infidel works among the people.

For this we have the authority of Balmes, than whom none is better acquainted with religious Spain. "The cities of second order," he writes, "with very rare exceptions, the towns, villages, and hamlets, have felt little of the infection; for this simple reason, that it is spread chiefly by books, and there, there are no readers. Add to this the many and powerful influences opposed to these ideas of innovation, calculated to neutralize the effect of the conversation of persons gone astray, and we may infer, that an immense majority have been preserved from the evil." He then proceeds to show that no talent, no wit, no good writing has been displayed in Spain against reli

* Page 253.

gion, to taint much even larger cities, and that in fact, "infidelity has no scientific existence in Spain." *

Where the Word of God is preached, its power is yet unbounded; and no sooner shall the bishops, restored to authority, send forth missionaries to revive the faith of slumberers, than all Spain will rise to Catholic fervor, like a host at the sound of the morning trumpet. The administrator of Seville has been, during the last winter, employing apostolic men in this work, and assured us that the accounts were most satisfactory and consoling; so that he had forwarded the letters to the Cardinal Archbishop. Indeed we afterwards met the principal missionary engaged in the work, Father Sanlucar, an ex-Capuchin; and he informed us that nothing could exceed the fervor of the people, who flocked in crowds from villages, for miles around, and showed the greatest devotion. In one place three thousand *general* confessions were made; and if we remember right, twenty priests were engaged all day in the sacred tribunal.

We shall not easily forget an interview with a poor peasant of the name of Diego Patricio Lopez (not certainly Mr. Borrow's man), who was introduced to us by a priest, at a country town in the south of Spain. He was, like most of the Spanish peasantry, a fine stout fellow, with a manly independent bearing, which betrays neither awkward restraint nor insolent forwardness, before

* Pensamiento, tom. i. p. 67.

persons of what society reckons a higher class. He was accompanied by another person of his own rank; both were clad in the substantial, but plain, costume of the Spanish countryman; for, barefooted or ragged indigence we hardly recollect to have ever seen there. We found him quite a biblical scholar in his way; and his delight and great employment was, instructing and interesting poor laborers, like himself, in the history and sentiments of Holy Scriptures. He had once procured a copy of Father Scio's version, and read it with delight; but it had belonged to some religious house before the first suppression, and on its being restored, he felt it his duty to make restitution of the book, though he had bought it. He had since been supplied with a copy from a nobleman's library. Not only does he recite to the people histories of the Bible as they occur; but he combines together into a sort of legend all that relates to any given subject. Urgent business prevented us from listening to one of these—his favorite one. And how his eyes brightened, and how eloquent his tongue seemed, when he told us the subject. Beginning with Genesis and going through the whole of Scripture, he had woven together every type, and prophecy, and promise of the Blessed Virgin. No: the Bible had not Protestantized him, nor acted on him otherwise than subordinately to faith; it had warmed and kindled to enthusiasm the feelings of his early religious impressions. More than this; he had composed

prayers and novenas for his own class, for whom more learned and elaborate compositions were not suited; and upon looking through one of these, we found it from beginning to end made up of scriptural passages, illustrations and allusions, adapted, with happy instinct, to the condition and wants of those for whom he wrote, and to whom he read them; or rather we must say, for whom he dictated them. For he amusingly told us, how, having been urged to put down in writing what he had only delivered orally, he sat down, pen in hand, and tried to give expression to the thoughts which filled his mind. But he could not get on at all, and gave up in despair. Then he was advised to dictate, and did so. As soon as he was warmed a little by his subject, he would walk about the room, and pour forth in ready language, his fervent thoughts, as quick as the pen of the writer could set them down. But the honest peasant had a document addressed to him by the bishop of the diocese, which he produced. Some readers will surmise that it was probably a summons to answer for his presumption in studying and reading the Word of God, or a threat of inquisitorial proceedings if he persevered. However, it was neither. It was only a grant of forty days' Indulgence to him every time he recited his Scripture histories and prayers to the poor, and the same to all who devoutly, and with due dispositions, listened to them!

The author of the *Scenes and Adventures* gives

the following interesting description of a mass celebrated in the open air, during the war. It may serve to illustrate the religious feelings of the people :—

"On a space of ground, bordered by olive-groves and luxuriant vineyards, the bold mountain outline—on which, here and there, perhaps, might be seen the enemy's videttes and *guerillas*, forming a magnificent framework to the picture :—on such a spot would be seen the troops assembling; each battalion marching out of the town or village, with its full military band playing, and forming on the appointed ground. In the centre, a table, covered with the best adornment that could be procured, served for an altar, on which a military chaplain had arranged the sacred vessels and missals. Then were seen the peasant women arriving in haste to attend mass, or seating themselves quietly on the ground, waiting for the commencement of the service, to which they, as well as their male relatives and companions, would pay the most devout attention.

"It was a solemn and a touching spectacle, when the priest, clothed in his vestments, elevated the host in the air, amid the clangor of the military music; the soldiers presenting arms, groups of officers bending the knee; the peasants, men and women, devoutly kneeling, and crossing themselves; and the sun shedding a gorgeous lustre over the whole."—Vol. ii. p. 146.

But it is just that we say a few words of the inhabitants of towns; for it is against them that charges of irreligion are most likely to be made. And no doubt the evil consequences of the late calamitous times, are more deplorably experienced among them than in the country. Yet even on their behalf we have much to say, chiefly from observation. One thing which cannot but strike an

inquirer into the state of religious matters in Spain is, seeing the churches kept up as they are, after every means of support has been taken away. The houses of the regulars have been seized, their inmates driven out, and either their funds or the alms collected by them, if mendicant friars, totally withdrawn. What is to become of a church, left without either priest or income? Anywhere else the obvious end would have been ruin; and the same might have been anticipated respecting the churches of nuns, all whose property has been confiscated. But in Spain it has not been so. In a few instances the churches have been sold, as is the case with the beautiful church of St. Philip Neri at Granada, now a carpenter's shop. Generally, however, this has not been the case; the church has been left standing, but in the destitute condition above described. And yet *not one* could we hear of that had been closed. In Xeres, for instance, there were about thirty churches of regulars and nuns, thus thrown all at once upon the generosity or charity of the faithful; and yet every one of them remains open to public worship. This is equally the case at Cadiz, Seville, Ecija, Malaga, and other places, of which we can speak. And not only so, but every function, which used to be carried on in these churches, has been continued with equal or superior splendor. Nay, we were assured that there were more *novenas*, and other functions given and defrayed by private devotion, than there used to be. Noble and

respectable families have taken altars under their protection and care, and the ladies of the house may be seen providing abundantly, and themselves applying, whatever is necessary, for not merely decent, but splendid, appearance. Never were the chapels and altars so well kept as at present. Again, when the churches were plundered, not a little of their treasures was saved, by being either claimed and taken possession of, by the families of their founders, or by being carried off and concealed in the houses of the rich. Much has been brought out again; but much is yet hidden. We were told so by noblemen and gentlemen who yet retain such precious objects in safe custody. We were somewhat amused one day, while looking at a beautiful image of Our Lady, such as can be seen only in Spain, where carving has been carried to a perfection unattained elsewhere; when being told by one of our clerical conductors, to observe that all the ornaments about it are of base metal, whereas once they were all silver; another at our side whispered, "But they are all safe; they are concealed, and will be brought out again." Nor are the faithful slow in restoring what has been lost. In that same church we were shown a splendid gold chalice just left by will to it; and in other places we saw similar proofs of liberality.

Another strong evidence of piety and faith will be found in the fact, that never has the perpetual exposition and adoration of the B. Eucharist in the forty hours' prayer, been interrupted.

It is kept up, not only in every large town, but also in those of second-rate importance, such as contain not more than 20,000 inhabitants. Yet it is only by the charity of the people that the expenses of this worship can be defrayed. And we bear willing testimony to the devout behavior of the many, who, at all hours, visit the church in which it takes place. And these not only the aged, or "of the devout female sex," but young men, who will make it a part of their daily duties to call there. We were assured by a magistrate of the highest respectability, that "he could give evidence of a great moral improvement in public morals, that many now went regularly to church, and to their religious duties, who formerly never attended them; that education was improved; and that, strange to say, the reaction in favor of religion, which was manifest, was due to the generation brought up in 1820-25, when Volney was put into the hands of youth." And this we had amply confirmed to us by others present, who have had excellent opportunities of knowing. As a trifling but significant proof of religious generosity in the people, we will mention what was told us by a friend, a resident of Xeres. In the public square, where the poor people assemble, there is a small oratory, corresponding to the altar end of a church. It merely contains a picture of the *Ecce Homo*, within a gate of open work; before which the poor people kneel, and will often cast in an alms. towards the support of the chapel.

A sum exceeding an *ochavo*, or a couple of *quartos* (a farthing), is rarely thrown in at a time; yet, at the end of the year, the sum collected has reached 1,500 dollars!

We have had occasion more than once, to express our dissent from the prevalent opinion respecting the religious condition of Barcelona. Our own more favorable view of it is formed on what we have heard, and on what we have read. Persons, foreigners who have been there lately, have assured us, that nowhere have they witnessed more decorum and piety, at processions and public functions, than there. And we have before us an account of the festivals and functions celebrated in thanksgiving for the delivery of the city, in March, 1843, which prove the charitable zeal of the people, when in great distress; for these functions were most numerous and most splendid, so as to make the expression quoted above, that "the altars blazed," most literal.* Malaga is another city similarly ill-spoken of: but we are sure no less unjustly; for we have had strong testimony in its favor from those who must know it well.

Such facts, as we have here thrown together, are strongly illustrative of the existence of real faith among the people. But they are also indirect proof of that charity, which we consider a not less healthy, and a more strongly marked, characteristic

* Sociedad, tom. i. p. 137. The number of wax-lights used on the altars of the churches, amounted in a few days to 7,653.

of the nation. We were much struck with the observation of a French merchant, who evidently knew Spain well, made in our hearing, at a *table d'hote*, that the Spaniards have no idea of luxury, but are all most temperate and simple in their habits; so that, even in Madrid, with the exception of such few as had travelled into other countries, and learned their usages, not even the nobles indulged in anything approaching to luxury. "A rich tradesman," he added, "would laugh at you, if you talked to him of keeping his carriage; but ask him for an alms, and he will think nothing of giving you 100, 500, or 1,000 dollars."

The natural consequence of this ready charity is, that the condition of the poor is very different from that of the same class in our country. Let it be remembered, that it is to a country impoverished by wars and revolutions, for many years past, that the following passage refers:—

"Let this astonish you, sagacious statesman—let this fact confound the more polished world's wisdom: there is no poor-law here, no compulsory relief; the rural society is very barbarous; agriculture is no more advanced than it was a century after the Flood; industry there is little, occupation trifling, energy, none; the soil is but scratched, manures little used, irrigation, which is, in truth, indispensable, but slightly resorted to—and yet distress there is almost none. Throughout the length and breadth of the Peninsula, the beggars have as pleasant faces as the best-clad members of the community. I challenge contradiction as to the fact, that there is no genuine distress. Twice, within this century, has foreign invasion violated the Spanish soil; and cruelly, of late years, has it been torn by the burning ploughshare

of civil war. Every road and pass is haunted by robbers; and society is little advanced from its elementary state. How comes it that there are not poor here, rotting in the ditches, as there were in England, when it was thinly peopled, before the Elizabethan law; and as there are to-day in Ireland? The duty of charity is deeply felt here; but is it not deeply felt in England? Will the Spanish peasant divide his crust, and the English peasant refuse to share it? Surely, this cannot be. Or is the difference entirely owing to the thinness of the Spanish population? Whatever the cause, it may make men sceptical as to the benefit of excessively refined societies and complicated political systems.

"You may sojourn long enough in a Spanish town before you will meet with any of those evidences of downright misery, which so soon strike the eye at home; and which abound even in London, in the vicinity of its most splendid squares. There may be rags and filth enough, but there is not the squalor of suffering, or the gaunt aspect of famine. No one starves in this country; few are in positive distress. Those who seek alms are, for the most part, of the class of jolly beggars: and how thriving is the trade, may be inferred from the independence of its practitioners, from the impudence of their imploring demands, and the obstinate sturdiness of their persistence. The beggar, having no property of his own, is king and lord of all the properties in the country. His rounds are as regular as those of the land-agent or tax-collector. In no part of the country have I seen uncomfortable poverty; or heard of an individual going without a passable meal. The contrast between this half-barbarous state, and that of refined societies, is most striking. We are excessively advanced, but we are likewise excessively peopled. Hence, in spite of all our exertions, and our unexampled energies, we have our thousands starving by the side of luxurious wealth; and glide from the prosperity of one year to the relapse and ruin of another."—Revelations of Spain, pp. 231, 232, vol. ii.

The charitable establishments of Spain show, in every way, how different is the spirit which

regulates them from that witnessed among us. The striking difference consists in the light in which the poor are viewed in the two countries. It is clear that in England the workhouse is not considered by them as a friendly asylum, but as something little better than a jail; and it is as clear that the overseers, or administrators of *Unions*, are not much disposed to look on their inmates as their children or friends. But in Spain, the feeling of kindness to the poor and sick, is the genuine fruit of charity. A few examples will illustrate this: and we will be partly guided in our choice by the author last quoted, who tells us that, "in the towns there are charitable institutions, where all that are really indigent are provided; local and conventual benevolence leave little to be desired in this respect: and the Hospicio at Cadiz, and the Caridad at Seville, are perfect models of similar institutions." (P. 234.) To this assertion we heartily subscribe; and both institutions mentioned will be of use to explain our meaning.

"The humble brotherhood of the Charity of our Lord Jesus Christ" has, at the gates of Seville, an hospital for the poor, known by the name of the Caridad, or Charity. The brotherhood was established above a century ago, by a pious nobleman, for the purpose of supporting and serving an hospital, for the relief exclusively of bed-ridden persons and aged priests. In the spacious halls below are upwards of a hundred beds, and always a hundred patients: when one is so far cured as to

leave his bed, he is sent home, or delivered to the care of other institutions. Sisters of Charity attend the sick, with that tender assiduity which is their characteristic: but at whatever hour you go there, you are pretty sure to find the president, Count Cantillana, looking personally to the wants of the sick. The beds and halls are beautifully clean; there is an altar in each ward, where mass is regularly said; and we may observe in general, that this is the rule in every hospital that we have visited. Up stairs are now (the funds being greatly impoverished) twelve *venerables*, or aged and infirm priests, who are always so called in the institution, who have comfortable apartments, and everything to console and soothe their declining years. Moreover, there is an outer hall opening on the street, with door unbarred all night, to which any poor wayfarer, or beggar, has access, as to his own home, and finds there "bed, light, and supper" prepared by the gentle hands of the Sisters. It is most creditable to all parties to state (both from what we heard on the spot, and from what is given in the last annual report), that while there is no limit to the power of demand, or to the charity granted, the number of applicants for it is limited to twenty-five or thirty per night. This in a population of 80,000, and in a great thoroughfare! To some of these poor people it is a regular home. In the course of last year, the confraternity forwarded and assisted, on their journeys, 165 poor people, gave ecclesiastical

burial to seventy (the number of deaths in the house having been forty-three), carried in sedan chairs or on biers, 162 poor to the hospitals, and distributed clothes and alms to others. The quantity and quality of provisions consumed shows that there is no stinting of the poor, as besides 17,398 large loaves of beautiful bread, there was abundance of meat, every fruit and vegetable, chocolate, cakes, wine, etc. And with all these nobler cares of charity, the fine arts are admirably mixed. The chapel of the hospital, and even its sacristy, forms a museum of painting, not easily to be rivalled. On either side of the former, is a large picture by Murillo, each containing many figures, of nearly natural size; on one side is Moses striking the rock, on the other our Lord multiplying the loaves—the hungry fed, and the thirsty refreshed. These are perhaps nearly the master-pieces of this splendid artist, whom no one can know without visiting Seville. They were seized by "Plunder-master-general" Soult, and sent off to Paris; but the English army intercepted, and returned, them. There is another beautiful painting by the same master representing St. John of God, tottering under the burthen of a sick man whom he is carrying, and supported by an angel. So true it is, that the noblest productions of art are due to the Christian virtues, and that Catholic piety is essentially allied to good taste. But what we wish chiefly to notice, in this institution, as indicative of its spirit, is, that of all these things,

pictures, hospital, income, the poor are the owners, the confraternity styling itself only their servants and administrators. Hence, in their report they say: "We have rendered funeral honors to our brothers, and to our masters and lords the poor" (*nuestros amos y señores los pobres*); and by this title they are always called there.

The other establishment mentioned, the *Hospicio* at Cadiz, is on a more extensive scale, and owes its present magnificence, and excellent administration, to the late Count O'Reilly, whose name speaks at once his country. In December last, there were maintained in it the following persons:—

Aged, { Men, 106 / Women, 161 } 267.—Children, { Boys, 249 / Girls, 122 } 371.

Insane, { Men, 35 / Women, 14 } 49.—Married Couples, 12–24.

Confined, 1.—Total, 712.

All these are lodged, clothed, and fed. The accommodations are excellent, the food of the best, and the clothing substantial, and all made in the house. The boys have a large school, and work at various trades; the girls up stairs are engaged in weaving, spinning, and needlework; the married couples (old people) live in separate apartments round a court planted with trees, and have one or two of the younger children under their care; and as for the old people above, they really seem as happy as kindness can make the last stage of this wearisome pilgrimage. Their dormitories are most spacious, with kitchens attached, so they need not go

down stairs; and we found poor old women, in many parts, sitting on the matted floor in groups, saying their prayers together. The one to which we stopped to listen consisted of the repetition of the trisagion, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabbaoth." Never did we see poverty and age more invested with honor, cheerfulness, and comfort. Besides this house there is another of a poorer and more compulsory nature, at the Capuchin convent, containing 200 inmates, chiefly orphans and loose characters taken up from the streets. But even here, there reigned cleanliness, good order, and the greatest kindness. These, and other establishments of the sort, are administered by a committee of gentlemen (and the same is to be said of other towns), who give their time and personal attention to the interests of the poor. In Cadiz there are moreover two large hospitals—one for men,* formerly under the brothers of St. John of God, (alas! why were *they* suppressed?) and one for women, which is truly splendid and admirably kept. The attendants are not nuns, neither are they paid nurses. They are "voluntary infirmarians, who in the house wear a particular head-dress, but take no vows, and can leave whenever they please: but it is certainly observed by all, that their charity has no bounds, and that they die in the service of the sick. This is the result of doing it not for interest, not merely

* We found five or six English sailors among the sick, and they bore testimony to the kindness and attention which they received.

by office; and the same used to be the case with the religious of St. John of God." *

The ladies turn their attention to the beautiful hospitals known by the name of *Cuna* or *Esposi-tos*, into which infants are sent by parents unable or unwilling to support them, with the right of claiming them again. These houses, corresponding to *genuine* foundling hospitals, are (so far as we have seen them) under the care of Sisters of Charity. Many of the children are given out to nurse, but are obliged to be brought to head-quarters every month to be carefully inspected. No mother could show more tender and affectionate care of her child, than these excellent religious do of these little forlorn ones, who pay them back in equal feelings. Everything too is as clean, as elegant, about the infants, as it could be in the most respectable or wealthy family. In the *Cuna* at Cadiz there are 600 children, in that of Seville about 900.†

We might say much more on the subject of charity in Spain, but shall content ourselves with observing, that the exercise of this virture seems never to have been interrupted, and hardly checked during the late troubles and distress. It has rather increased than diminished; and we found in small towns even new institutions springing

* Paseo Historico-artistico por Cadiz. Ib. 1843, p. 77.

† The sum applied to this one charity in Seville, amounted last year, according to its report before us, to upwards of £3,000.

up, dependent entirely upon charity; such as orphanages, gratuitous schools, and houses for the aged.

Religion cannot be lost, or anything like it, in a country where charity, allied to faith, is still so living and so active; where the worship of God is generously supported, where the poor of Christ are bountifully fed, and His little ones tenderly cared for. Had we space enough, we would gladly enter into some other peculiarities of the national character, scarcely less fraught with hopefulness for religion, than those which we have specified. The temperance, for instance, of the people, their kind-heartedness and hospitality, and many other traits are worthy of notice. But we may at once refer our readers to every work on Spain, even by the most discontented travellers. There is not one who does not express his fondness for the people, and his regret at leaving them.* And we should be indeed most ungrateful, were we not to add our warmest testimony to anything and everything that has been said in their praise. Yes; one thing we will add, that whereas it has been the fashion of such travellers to draw a broad line of distinction between the people and the higher classes, as to

* While nearly at the close of our article we have perused a new work on "Spain, visited in 1840 and 1841." It is anonymous, like several others. We have found many of the usual misunderstandings, and some clear (though doubtless unintentional) misstatements, regarding ecclesiastical matters. But its tone is kindly as to the people. This will make us forgive much.

the amiable points of character, our own observation and experience lead us to cancel it. From high and low, rich and poor, we have never met anything but kindness, cordiality, and that peculiar frankness which puts you at once at home in a Spaniard's house, and makes you feel authorized, after an hour's acquaintance, be it noble hidalgo or high-born dame, to know and address all in it by their Christian names; a familiarity not easily reached in our cold climate.

And this puts us in mind of many amiable points in the Spanish character; but of none more than the ease with which the people may be managed by kind and generous treatment. Offer the peasant money, and he turns away, often in indignation; treat him like a gentleman, by offering him a cigar, and he will do anything for you. The political chief of Malaga, of whom we have before spoken with praise, gave us a strong instance of the sensibility of the people to such conduct. "It is a great advantage," said he, "to know and address every one by his Christian name," as he does. Not long ago, he knew that, at night, there was a gathering of six or eight and twenty desperate characters, armed with pistols and knives—and murderous weapons they were, for we saw them and can vouch it—at a low gambling-house, in the outskirts of the city. He accordingly proceeded there, alone and unarmed, wrapped in his cloak; and gained admittance. There he was, a slender, defenceless youth, in the midst

of the gang of desperadoes, in a retired spot, at midnight. He went up to the table, round which they were drinking. They were abashed by his presence; and in a tone of firm, but gentle command, he said: "Bring out all your arms, and place them on the table." He was obeyed. "Now," he said, addressing one of them by his Christian name, "you take them all up to my office, and then join the rest. All of you walk quietly to prison, where I will meet you. You know I am acting the part of your friend." They understood him. The punishment might have been six years' presidio; and he might have surrounded the house, and seized them. They saw that he had forborne to act so, and wished to spare them. Not one was wanting at the prison door. He confined them for three days, imposed a heavy fine of bread for the nuns; and freed them, on their promise never to go to that house again. "Not one," he added, in giving us this account, "not one has broken his word." And justly popular is he among his fellow-citizens, because of his firm, but kindly, rule. His father was the same before him. When General Sebastiani had possession of Malaga, he boldly requested him to see that his troops committed no outrage. "You," he added, "have, it is true, 20,000 bayonets under your command; but I have only to speak a word, and 100,000 men will start up at my bidding." The name of this family is Ordoñez.

We trust that the present government is striving, by measures of peace, to cultivate the fine and generous qualities of the Spanish people. Certain it is, that in every part, commerce and trade, those sure barometers of public security, are quietly arising; and that a new spirit of enterprise is manifesting itself in every sort of industry. Merchants of high mark assured us that there had not been for years such a feeling of confidence and assurance as now; so that capital, long locked up, was beginning to flow out again, and give impulse to business. Every book before us, treating of Spain in 1840 and 1841, or of preceding years, has many pages taken up with accounts of robbers, the insecurity of the roads, and the terrors and perils of the writers. We have now traversed those very roads, considered the most dangerous, not only without risk, but without even a feeling of apprehension. At every stage we met small patrols of active road-police, on horse and foot, lately established by the government, who have cleared the roads, and keep them perfectly free. The robbery of a diligence is now never heard of. A similar police has been established in the towns, and it was by this means, that, just as we were entering Spain, Navarro (the *Abd-el Kader* of Spain, as he has been called),* the worst of the race of robbers, was captured by them, and met with his merited fate.† In every part of the

* Revelations of Spain, vol. i. p. 389.

† Navarro ventured with some of his followers into the

country improvements of magnitude are going forward—bridges, roads, canals, and many other public works. The political chiefs, or principal civil magistrates of provinces, seem to have been carefully selected for their good sense, knowledge of business, and moral principles and conduct.

The government has moreover begun the great work of reconciling Spain with the Holy See. God grant that it may have done so on no narrow basis; but that it may have resolved to treat on great, and generous, and Catholic, principles. It was our intention to have laid before our readers the great question now agitating Spain, regarding the extent of restoration of Church property. And it was further our desire to justify what we have said of the schismatical tendencies of the late government. But we forbear, partly because we have already transgressed the bounds of all discretion, in the length of this article, and more still because the questions involved in both matters have become delicately perplexed by the state of the negotiations between Rome and Spain. We feel that in the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff the great interests of religion are safe, that not a tittle will be surrendered of what justice or prudence

town of Lucena; going through the square late at night, he was challenged by the municipal patrol; and being elated with drink, he answered his real name. He was pursued, when turning round he fired, and killed one of the police. The others returned the fire, and broke one of his legs. He was thus taken, and next day executed on the scene of one of his atrocities.

demands, while no harshness or unnecessary severity will be exercised. In the good intentions of government we are wishful to confide. The names of several who form it inspire hope. The destitution to which the clergy is abandoned pains our feelings, in common with every other Catholic's: but we will trust that its removal, by the energy of ministers, will soon give evidence to the world of the sincerity of their motives. We may then return to these topics with lighter hearts and grateful feelings. But, till then, we will invite all, who love the peace of Israel, earnestly to pray for the shortening of the visitation, which has fallen on one of the fairest portions of God's inheritance. For ourselves, we have been glad thus to record our hopes; hopes that rest ultimately on those mercies which fail not. There is too much good preserved, too much evil well endured, for us not to hope; there is too much faith and too much charity in the people, too much zeal and confessor-like patience in her clergy, too much holiness in her cloistered virgins, too much apostolic firmness in her episcopacy, for us to fear, that the Spirit of God has passed away from poor Spain, or that she hath been chastened with other than with the rod of children, the forerunner ever of a more paternal care.

[It must be nearly useless to inform the readers of these pages, that almost every augury expressed in the foregoing article has been verified, almost

every desire fulfilled. The bishopries have been filled up with men of the highest order of merit. The Concordat between the Holy See and the queen has provided for the re-establishment of religious orders, for the continuation of convents, by the permission to receive novices, and for the maintenance of the clergy. This document was considered of sufficient consequence to be printed by order of one of our houses of Parliament, last year; and no doubt took many people by surprise—all those who believed that thirty years of what is called "progress," must have weakened the influence of the papacy, and the Catholic faith, in Spain. Even while these lines are being written, the restoration of the house of Loyola to its lawful owners, the spiritual children of him who draws his name from the town, gives a new pledge of the religious earnestness of Spain's rulers; while almost every week sees new permissions issued to convents, to reopen their novitiates. In fact, this essay on the Spain of 1844 has become an anachronism, and might have been suppressed, were it not for its embodying facts which may be forgotten, yet are worth preserving; and were it not useful for churches, when restored to peace and prosperity, to look back on the trials, the virtues, and the constancy of those, who, by these perhaps, won them their later blessings.

The following letter from a friend, who was in Spain last year, will require no apology for its insertion:

"M. U. read me one evening a letter he had just received from a priest, a friend of his, who accompanied the new bishop to the Havannas. You know perhaps that this bishop was a country curate in the mountains of Catalonia, and that he conceived the idea of establishing at Barcelona a society for printing and circulating cheap religious publications, which society has done a vast deal of good. The letter in question said that in the six weeks the bishop had been in the island, he had brought about a change which was almost miraculous. At the time he wrote there was a mission in the cathedral, where between seventy and eighty confessors were occupied, without intermission, from daybreak until late at night; and that the day before the bishop had been administering the Communion from 4 o'clock in the morning until 2 P. M., with his own hands, and without retiring for a moment.

"It is a pity you did not visit Valencia when you were in Spain; you would have seen things that would have delighted you. It would be too long to detail some of them; but what would you say, for example, to the Presidio, where 1,800 convicts, highwaymen, assassins, etc., are kept without one single soldier or turnkey to look after them, but who are in such a state of discipline, by kindness, that the director has in many instances, by way of showing it to foreigners, sent highway robbers by themselves, to take a sum of money to a place fifty or sixty miles off in their convict dress, and they have punctually returned at the moment at which they were ordered to come back.

"There is an establishment called *El Colegio del Patriarca*, which is very interesting, and in which the *funciones de eglesia* are performed with such solemnity *every day*, that it is said, even in Rome there is nothing to be compared to it. The patriarca (de Antioquia) who founded it, and who was also the captain-general who expelled the Moriscos, and whose fame is diminished by his having acted cruelly towards them (a circumstance, it seems, which has prevented his canonization on several occasions), was such a knowing one, that the deeds of endowment are so cleverly drawn up, that when the Church property was seized by Mendizabal,

they could not get possession of that of the college. As if he had foreseen what has happened, he named sixty families his heirs, in case the country should become Protestant, or an attempt should ever be made to wrest the property from its destination. When M. attempted to seize it, there were scores of individuals who put in their claims; and though a commission of a dozen lawyers was appointed to examine the deeds, they could not find the least flaw in them, and so the government thought it was better to let the Colegio del Patriarca alone, as they found (as old R. used to say), they would 'ket nothink by it.'"

POPE BONIFACE VIII.

From the *Dublin Review* for March, 1844.

ART. VIII.—*A History of the Italian Republics.* By J. C. L. DE SISMONDI. London: 1832.

IN the unceasing revolution of time, it is not surprising that persons and events that have been rudely crushed beneath its wheel, should after a while return to light and honor. And it may afford some consolation to observe, that those names which have been subject to this depression and obscuration, when once restored to their proper place, do not incur much danger of losing it again. In no matter or part of history is this more true, than in the history of the Roman pontiffs. The sense of justice which characterizes the present age will be proved to later times by its decisions regarding them, better than by any other historical judgments which it has pronounced and recorded. It is not many years since the condemnation of the entire line of apostolic succession in the Roman See, was a matter of course in every Protestant work, theological, historical, philosophical, or moral, which, directly or indirectly, could bring

it within its scope. There were no exceptions. The whole series was condensed into a single individuality, which under the name of "the papacy," was stigmatized with everything that was infamous, and anathematized with everything that was execrable. Like to the tyrant's wish, that the Roman people had only one neck, that so he might enjoy the concentrated zest of cruelty, in smiting it, was the purpose of Protestant assailants; who truly gave unity to the idea of the headship of the Church, that so they might strike it with a single blow. At length the dark mass of error and calumny, accumulated through ages, broke, and admitted the light. First, partial exceptions began to be made, certain popes were culled out from the number involved in wholesale condemnation: one was praised as an encourager of learning; another as an advocate of ecclesiastical liberty; and so by degrees, till a long succession of pontiffs received the tardy justice of an historical vindication. The progress from Roscoe's *Life of Leo the Tenth*, through Voight, Hurter, and Hock, to Ranke, is a literary fact too recent, and too often described in these pages, to need more than a passing allusion.

Were we desired to assign a cause for this change in the feelings and direction of historians, we should be inclined to attribute much to the noble character of several recent pontiffs, whose lives broke down much prejudice against their order; not because they were better or wiser than their predecessors, but because the guidance of di-

vine Providence brought forward their characters more prominently before the face of Europe, than theirs who had preceded them. Benedict XIV. was a man of higher attainments, and of no less virtue, than the sixth or seventh Pius. There is no doubt that had he, or any other pope of the last century, been placed in *their* trying circumstances, he would have exhibited equal firmness, resignation, and Christian heroism. Opportunity was not allowed to him, as it was to them, and he therefore remains known by his works rather than by his deeds; the delight of the theologian, the oracle of the bishop, the admiration of the learned; but comparatively without a place or name in history. The noble-hearted Braschi and the meek Chiaramonti were cast into ruder times; the fate of older pontiffs was allotted them. The former had to renew the ancient contest between the supremacy and the empire; not, as formerly, with the open and avowed hostility of feudal rivalship, but in the field, more slippery and less glorious, of diplomatic contention. That legislative tyrant Joseph II. knew how to injure the Church and its liberties better than Henry II. But it only afforded an opportunity for the display of a new class of virtues, in that see which had ever been fruitful in their production. The same pope found himself involved in a contest with a republic, unlike indeed the republics of ancient Italy, in which a rooted attachment to the Catholic religion was never destroyed by temporary hostility, but with

one which assailed him in rampant infidelity; which aimed at the desecration of what was holy, through hatred of holiness. Every new aggression of this destructive power, justly deemed the public enemy, was matter of interest to Europe; and the wanton treatment of a venerable pontiff, whose unsullied life, amiable manners, and grey hairs claimed universal esteem and reverence, could not fail to conciliate sympathy towards the sufferer, mingled with execration of his oppressors. Pius VI. died, like Gregory VII., in exile. His successor had to continue the struggle, under a more violent, but not less crafty, form; he was at times almost circumvented by the wiles of his imperial enemy, at times almost beaten down by hardships and insult; but the spirit of his race triumphed equally over both; the meek courage of the pontiff was a full match for the power of the modern Attila: his upright humility baffled the policy of his oppressors. It was the captive dove, keeping at bay and foiling, at once, the falcon and the serpent.

We think that we may truly repeat, that down to this time, a majority of Protestants had never attached any idea of individuality to the name of pope. Their notion seemed to be that of an entity perpetuated under a variety of indefinite names, through generation after generation (Clements, Innocents, and Benedicts succeeding each other, no one knew how),* living in almost inaccessible gran-

* It was a common and often-repeated question of his late majesty William IV. to such Catholics as approached him, "Pray what is the name of the *present* pope?"

deur in a terrible place called the Vatican, round which perpetual thunders growled to keep off all intruders; approached only with genuflexions, prostrations, and almost worship; ever enthroned, and with a triple crown upon its head, occupied all day in mysterious conclave, with scarlet, wide-hatted cardinals, upon bulls, indulgences, and excommunications. We will not add the grosser fictions of popular bigotry,—but we believe, that many well-informed persons did a few years ago entertain, and that perhaps some very respectable ones do as yet entertain, an idea as definite, as sensible, and as liberal of the pope,—be he who he may—as we have described. But when Pius VII., stripped of all outward ornaments, torn from his own dominions, an exile and a prisoner, became known to Europe, his personal character, so pure, so holy, yet so noble and magnanimous; so unbending yet so forgiving; so lofty yet so mild;* softened the hearts of many, if it did not turn them, and made them begin to distinguish in their minds, the man from the dignity which he adorned, and to know that popes have characters and virtues, and Christian perfection, even beyond most other men.

We do not think that we are wrong in this speculation, that by the events to which we have

* When Pius VII. was in prison, a nobleman was once sent by the emperor to ask him if there was anything he wanted: "Nothing," replied the pontiff, "except a needle to darn my cassock with."

cursorily alluded, an interest was excited in the public mind, a power of individualizing generated, regarding the papal authority and its possessors, of a different character from what before was common. We believe that many were led to compare the certain virtues of these later pontiffs with the conduct of their predecessors under similar circumstances; and that the selection made of Gregory VII., Sylvester II., Innocent III., as subjects of special biography and high commendation by Protestant historians, may be attributed, at least in part, to the renewal in later times of the contest between imperial and papal power, the *regale* and *pontificale*, and to the attention thus directed towards similar struggles in a former period. Catholics have been grateful, obsequiously grateful, for this slow-footed, lagging justice, toward their ancient ecclesiastical heroes. Nay, it has been but a lame justice after all, and yet has it been humbly acknowledged. The loftiest, truest view of the character and conduct of the popes has often been overlooked; the divine instinct which animated them, the immortal destiny allotted to them, the heavenly cause confided to them, the superhuman aid which strengthened them, could not be appreciated but by a Catholic mind, and are too generally excluded from Protestant histories, or are transformed into corresponding human capacities, or policies, or energies, or virtues. Then, there are few of the vindicators of these ancient popes who do not contrive to give a savor

to their writings, of the olden leaven,—some acrid or bitter relish, in the form of strong protestations, or harsh declarations against popery, which set one's teeth on edge, when feasting upon the treat afforded us by our new friends. The fault we know is ours; the vindication of our fathers in the spirit should have come from us; it should not have been left to the condescension of adversaries. As it is, we will accept it, not without humiliation; but we will not bow our back to any blows they may think proper to inflict.

We have already enumerated the ancient pontiffs, who in late years have found vindicators among Protestants. There is one upon whom none has yet taken compassion, whom none has attempted to rescue from the mass of general reprobation. Boniface VIII., to whom we allude, has scarcely ever found a good word, even among modern Catholic writers; he is generally reckoned among the *wicked* popes; he is represented as ambitious, haughty, tyrannical, unforgiving, and unrelenting, and at the same time as cunning, deceitful, treacherous, and base. There is not an action of his pontificate, from his accession to his death, that has not been censured as the result of a crime, or as inspired by some unworthy motive. Now, when we consider how he was one of those pontiffs who particularly stood up for the prerogatives of his see, against the rival power of princes, that almost all the charges against him arise from political contests, and that at his death

he left his enemies triumphant, and with all the power to injure his memory in their hands, we may naturally be inclined to believe, that the obloquy which yet remains upon his memory is of the same character as that which has been successfully wiped off from the names of other pontiffs, by the industry of modern writers.

In fact, the injurious attacks upon this pontiff commenced during his life, and have been repeated in every age till the present. We will not speak of the infamous libels drawn in France by William of Nogaret, his capital enemy, and by others who had felt the weight of his pontifical severity. But unfortunately others, whom political feelings arrayed in habitual hostility to the ecclesiastical power, whenever it came in conflict with the secular, helped to invent, or to propagate, false or exaggerated views of his proceedings, and of his character. In one respect, Boniface was indeed unfortunate, in having the poets among his enemies. Fra Jacopone da Todi, whose virtues, on the other hand, attracted the veneration of his contemporaries, has poured out all the bitterness of his nervous satire upon him. But still more, the author of the *Divina Commedia* has contributed to render the memory of this pontiff most unjustly hateful. The Ghibelline poet could not think of sparing so decided a Guelph. Hence he scruples not to call him "the prince of modern Pharisees,"* and "the high-priest, whom evil

* "Lo principe dei nuovi farisei."—Inf. xxvii. 85.

take."* St. Peter is made to call him an usurper, and to charge him with bloodshed and crime;† and a place is represented as prepared for him, among those condemned to hell for simony.‡ We need hardly mention Protestant Church historians, such as the Centuriators or Mosheim, or many civil historians, like Gibbon, Hallam, and Sismondi, who vie with each other in repeating the same tales concerning this great pontiff, copying one another, without taking the trouble to verify the statements, or to weigh the judgments, of those who have preceded them. Of these neglects we shall see some specimens in the course of our present inquiry.

Accustomed, as we have been, to read and hear so much to the disadvantage of this pope, we naturally required some cause, however slight, to turn our attention towards a more particular examination of such grievous charges. The pencil of Giotto must claim the merit, such as it is. The portrait of Boniface by him, in the Lateran Basilica, so different in character from the representations of modern history, awakened in our minds a peculiar interest regarding him, and led us to the examination of several popular assertions, affecting his moral and ecclesiastical conduct. He soon appeared to us in a new light; as a pontiff who

* "Il gran prete a cui mal prenda."—Inf. 68.

† "Quegli che usurpa in terra il luogo mio.
Il luogo mio, il luogo mio che vaca."—Parad. xxvii. 23.

‡ Inf. xix. 52.

began his reign with most glorious promise, and closed it amid sad calamities; who devoted, through it all, the energies of a great mind, cultivated by profound learning, and matured by long experience in the most delicate ecclesiastical affairs, to the attainment of a truly noble end; and who, throughout his career, displayed many great virtues, and could plead in extenuation of his faults, the convulsed state of public affairs, the rudeness of his times, and the faithless, violent character of many among those with whom he had to deal. These circumstances, working upon a mind naturally upright and inflexible, led to a sternness of manner and a severity of conduct, which, when viewed through the feelings of modern times, may appear extreme, and almost unjustifiable. But after studying the conduct of this great pope, after searching through the pages of his most hostile historians, we are satisfied that this is the only point on which even a plausible charge can be brought against him; a charge which has been much exaggerated, and which the considerations just enumerated must sufficiently repel, or in great part extenuate.

To give an idea of the summary manner in which Boniface is dealt with, we will quote the account of him given in the little manual at the head of our article.

"After Nicholas IV., a poor hermit, humble, timid, and ignorant, was raised, in 1294, to the chair of St. Peter, under the name of Celestine V. His election was the effect of a

sudden burst of religious enthusiasm, which seized the College of Cardinals; although this holy senate had never before shown themselves more ready to consult religion than policy. Celestine V. maintained himself only a few months on the throne; all his sanctity could not serve as an excuse for his incapacity; and the Cardinal Benedict Cajetan, who persuaded him to abdicate, was elected pope in his place, under the name of Boniface VIII. Boniface, able, expert, intriguing, and unscrupulous, would have restored the authority of the Holy See, which, during the latter pontificates, had been continually sinking, if the violence of his character, his ungovernable pride, and his transports of passion, had not continually thwarted his policy. He endeavored at first to augment the power of the Guelphs by the aid of France; he afterwards engaged in a violent quarrel with the family of Colonna, whom he would willingly have exterminated; and finally, taking offence against Philip le Bel, he treated him with as much haughtiness, as if he had been the lowest of his vassals. Insulted, and even arrested, by the French prince, in his palace of Anagni, on the 7th of September, 1303, Boniface died a few weeks afterwards of rage and humiliation."—P. 106.

This is only an abridgment of what Sismondi has written in his larger *History of the Italian Republics;* and consequently to this work will we look for the manner in which this severe judgment is supposed to be supported. Considering the immense number of authors, contemporary or nearly so, who have related the actions of this pope, considering still more the valuable authentic documents belonging to his reign, which have been published in different works, it cannot be for want of materials that an erroneous estimate is obtained. It is undoubtedly true, that among the former class of evidence, there is directly conflicting testi-

mony to be found. But then the lowest degree of candor which we have a right to exact from an historian, is information to that effect. We expect to be told that there *is* a very different narrative of events from the one selected, and that it comes from authorities whose value has been scrupulously weighed. We desire to be directed to the place where these may be found and examined, that so we may form our own judgment on the matter. The historian who should give us Herodotus's account of Cyrus, and never allude to Xenophon's, would certainly be reproached for want of fairness towards his readers. It is moreover true, that some accounts come from the pen of decided friends and partisans of Boniface; but the others come from as decided enemies and hearty haters; and can it be just to take all that these assert, without once qualifying their narrative by reference to the other side? And is not this still more grievous, when the adversaries profess to speak from hearsay or common rumor; and the friends were eye-witnesses, and honest men? But what if there be impartial writers, who are as ready to speak against, as for, the conduct of the pope; ought not they at least to have been sometimes referred to?

Then, as to the second class of evidence—documents of the times, official papers, decrees, or processes—the omission of their use must surely be unpardonable in an historian, especially when they serve to clear up doubts, as to whether a favorable or an unfavorable view should be preferred, of

characters or events. Yet we shall have occasion to see how sadly all these means of ascertaining the truth having been neglected or despised by our modern historians, and a one-sided view taken, upon evidence worse than doubtful, nay, certainly less than true.

I. The attacks upon Boniface's character commence with his very accession to the papacy. In order to understand how this is, it may be useful to premise a brief historical sketch.

Pope Nicholas IV. died on Good-Friday, in the year 1292. There was considerable difference among the cardinals in conclave, which led to a vacancy of the Apostolic See, of two years and three months. At the end of this period, all singularly agreed in the nomination and election of a saintly hermit living in the wilds of the Abruzzi, of the name of Peter, whose surname is variously given by contemporary writers, as *Murro*, *De Murrone*, *De Morone*, or *Morono*. His election took place at Perugia, on the 7th of June, 1294. His reign was of short duration. Instead of at once going to Rome, he wrote to the cardinals, that, on account of the summer heat, he was unequal to a long journey; and having made his solemn entry into Aquila, he proceeded to Naples. There, after a few months, he resigned the papacy, on the feast of St. Lucy, December 13, and was on Christmas eve succeeded by Cardinal Benedict, of the Gaetani or Cajetani family, who took the name of Boniface VIII. This is the subject of our present inquiry.

His enemies do not wait to see him quietly seated in the chair of St. Peter, before they begin their assaults upon his character. The resignation of Celestine is attributed to his arts; and the means supposed to have been taken by him to secure his own elevation, are represented as most base. Mosheim takes the first point quite for granted. "Hence it was," he writes, "that several of the cardinals, and particularly Benedict Cajetan, advised him to abdicate the papacy which he had accepted with such reluctance; and they had the pleasure of seeing their advice followed with the utmost docility."* But Sismondi enters more fully into details, and gives implicit credit to all that Boniface's bitterest enemies ever asserted upon the subject. The following is his account of the conduct of the cardinal, during the brief pontificate of Celestine:—"Il y en avait un parmi eux [the cardinals], Bénoit Caietan d'Anagni, qui avait soin d'exciter leurs murmures, et d'accroitre à leurs yeux le danger que courait la Chrétienté. Cet homme n'avait point d'égaux en adresse et en dissimulation: il avait su, en même temps, flatter les cardinaux, qui le regardaient comme le soutien des prérogatives de leur collège, et dominer l'esprit de Célestin, qui n'agissait que d'après ses instructions, et qui peut-être n'avait commis tant de fautes que parceque son perfide directeur voulait le rendre odieux et ridicule." After stating that the cardinal offered his services to Charles II. of Naples, if

* Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. ii. (1826) p. 367.

he would procure him the papacy, our author thus continues: "Ensuite il ne s'occupe plus que du soin de persuader à Célestin d'abdiquer une dignité pour laquelle il n'était pas fait. Quelques-uns assurent qu'avec un portevoix, il lui en fit descendre l'ordre comme du ciel. Indépendamment de cette ruse, il avait mille moyens encore de déterminer cet homme simple et timide, dont il alarma la conscience."*

For all this detailed account the historian quotes no authority; but simply refers for the story of the speaking-trumpet to Ferrettus Vicentinus, the most violent assailer, on every occasion, of the pope's character. The expression, "*some assert*," with which this fable is introduced by Sismondi, and the reference in the note to Ferrettus, would lead one naturally to suppose that he, among other historians, vouches for the fact. The present tense indicates existing historians. Yet it is not so: that writer himself only gives it as a report;—"*ferunt etiam.*" Any historian ought to have been ashamed to put such a charge, in such a manner, upon such evidence. But this it not the worst. Not only do all the sound evidences of contemporary history contradict this paltry story, but the entire history of Celestine's abdication in Ferretti is so grossly at variance with every other document, and so plainly untenable, that with the exception of it, and the abusive insinuations against

* Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Age, tom. iv. cap. xxiv. p. 81.

Boniface's character, Sismondi has not ventured to follow him here, as elsewhere we shall see he has done. Ferretti tells us, for instance, that Celestine suddenly and unexpectedly made his abjuration before the cardinals, and then ran away the same day to Apulia: whereas he was quietly at Naples, and did homage when Boniface was elected, ten days later. He then relates how Cardinal Benedict cajoled the cardinals and the king of Naples, and had himself appointed nominator of the new pope; and so elected himself. Sismondi without a word quietly rejects all this, and contents himself with saying, that he was chosen by the unanimous suffrages of all the cardinals. So much for the authority of Ferretti—*at present*—so much for the fairness of M. Sismondi, in referring to authorities. Of this, too, more anon.

The first question which may reasonably be asked, is, "Did Cardinal Cajetan use any unfair arts to induce Pope Celestine to resign?" The second is; "If he used legitimate means, was he not fully justified in doing so?" We premise, that what Sismondi says regarding the pope's being purposely misled by Cardinal Benedict, is a pure conjecture or invention of his own. We proceed therefore to answer our queries.

1. We say, then, that the most accredited writers of the times do not warrant us in attributing the resignation to this cardinal, or at least, to him more than others, or otherwise than as the organ of the general opinion. Ptolomæus Lucensis, the

confessor of St. Thomas Aquinas, who exhibits no partiality for Boniface, gives the history as an eye-witness. He tells us, in general terms, that in consequence of the pope's conduct, the Sacred College suggested to him to resign, that grievous mischief might be avoided. "Hoc igitur percipientes *quidam de collegio* jam incipiunt querelari, et Ecclesiæ fluctuationem attendere, ac etiam eidem pontifici insinuare sub prætextu suæ sanctitatis, quantum sibi periculum imminebat . . . . . Vadens igitur illuc to [Naples] *multum stimulatur ab aliquibus cardinalibus* quod papatui cedat, quia Ecclesia Romana sub ipso periclitabatur, et sub eo confundebatur: quibus stimulis concitatur Sanctus Pater." * Again: "Hoc autem non obstante, *adhuc aliqui cardinales* mordaciter infestant, quod in periculum animæ suæ papatum detinebat, propter inconvenientia et mala, quæ sequebantur ex suo regimine."†

Another contemporary historian, and even eye-witness of the transactions of the papal court, James Cardinal of St. George in Velabro, known

* Pto'. Luc. Hist. Eccles. ap. Murat. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, tom xi. lib. xxiv. c. 22, p. 1200.

† Ibid. cap. 23. Raynaldus, in his continuation of Baronius, quotes a passage from this chapter, which does not occur in the published work. Muratori was its first editor. In this passage Cardinal Cajetan is mentioned by name. It is as follows:—"Dominus Benedictus *cum aliquibus cardinalibus* Celestino persuadet ut officio cedat, quia propter suam simplicitatem, licet sanctus vir et vitæ magni foret exempli, sæpius diversis confundebatur Ecclesiæ, in gratiis faciendis et in regimine orbis."

also by the name of Stephanesius, has left us a long poem, with a prose introduction, on the resignation of Celestine, and another on the coronation of Boniface. He tells us in his Introduction, that what he wrote he knew, had seen, and touched with his own hands; for he thus speaks of himself: "Scito, qui noscere desideras, hunc quidem [esse] qui ex veridica re, veluti præsens, videns, ministrans, palpans, et audiens, notusque pontifici [Cælestine] quin pontificibus carus inpactam compegit metrisque refudit historiam."* Moreover, the cardinal shows himself particularly attached to Celestine while living, and devout to him after death, as he composed the prayers and responsories for his office.† His prose account of Celestine's resignation is very brief. It is as follows: Against the will and dissuasions of some, and particularly of the brethren of his institute [the Celestine monks founded by him,] and in spite of their opposition, so soon as he had learnt that he might, he showed that he was willing to resign. For in the month of December, on the feast of St. Lucy, virgin, when the report of his abdication had died away, he resigned the honors and burthens of the papacy into the hands of the Sacred College. This resignation, the senate of cardinals, astonished at so wonderful an event, received with great veneration, and shedding many tears."‡ But in his

* R. I. S. tom. iii. p. 614.

† P. 615. See the office, p. 668.

‡ Ib. p. 616.

poem he goes much more into particulars. He tells us, therefore, that Celestine, conscious of his own incapacity, and finding himself unable to retire, as he desired, into an artificial solitude in his palace, began seriously and with tears, to consider, whether he might not put an end to his anxieties, by retiring from the dignity which caused them. This, he tell us, he learnt from Celestine himself after his resignation.* While meditating upon this scheme, he took up a little book, in which he used to find some instruction during his eremitical life, being, by the description, a collection of principles of canon law, adapted for religious men.† In this he found that a person holding office was at liberty, for just reasons, to resign it; and arguing upon these premises, concluded that he ought to enjoy the same right. One objection alone presented itself: every one else could resign into his superior's hands, but the pope had no superior. To solve this difficulty, he called in the advice of a friend.‡ Perhaps this friend was Cardinal Cajetan; in fact this seems to us most probable. Now he, upon

* Vitæ S. Cælestini V. lib. iii. cap. iii. p. 638.

"Cesserat angustum regalis culminis aulæ
In latus, et meditans sibimet lacrymabilis inquit,
(*Ut nos viva Patris docuit vox*)."

The author's own gloss adds: "Scilicet auctorem operis: *nam oretenus sibi dixit quæ sequuntur*, post cessionem tamen."

† "——Juris nonnulla docens, excepta labore
Arteve prudentum."—P. 638.

‡ "Sed jubet acciri coram, cui fatur, amicum." The gloss "Amicus ille quem Cælestinus consulebat." —Ibid.

being interrogated, first objected to the pope's proposal, and attempted to dissuade him, against his own conviction of the expediency of abdication.* He then added, that if there was sufficient cause, he no doubt *could* resign his dignity. "That is enough," the holy pontiff replied; "of the sufficiency of the cause *I* am the proper judge." He

* "Ille tamen cautus mentem simulare coëgit:
Cur, Pater, his opus est? Quænam cunctatio curam
Ingerit? Optatis obsiste gravare quietem."—Ibid.

A critical humor has come over us, and though perhaps the passage may not be thought sufficiently classical to deserve the trouble, we will e'en indulge in it. The verse immediately following these words is thus given by Muratori:—

"Hæc præter fundata, Pater, curanda per orbem."

The meaning of this is anything but clear. However, it happens that the third word is a conjectural emendation for *funda* which, besides making no more sense than the substituted word, left the verse short a syllable. But Rubeus (John Ross) in his "Bonifacius VIII.," Rome, 1651, quotes the passage from another manuscript no doubt correctly: "Hæc *præterfienda* Pater." Though the word is certainly not classical, it makes both sense and metre; and any one acquainted with the cursive character of that day, will easily understand how *fienda* could be turned into *funda*, and so suggest the necessity of Papebroke's emendation. But what are we to make of the rest of the line? Nothing, we fear, unless we take a liberty such as the editor has had to take with more than twenty places in the chapter. For the text of this poem is most corrupt. We propose, therefore, to read—

Hæc præterfienda, Pater venerande per orbem."

The word which we amend would be written *vẽrande*, and in the close character of the age would easily be altered into the present reading.

then called another counsellor,* and received the same assurance. His mind was thus made up. Now, taking it for granted that the friend called in by Celestine was Cardinal Cajetan, how different is this narrative, by an eye-witness, from the statements of M Sismondi and others! We learn that the pope was the first to think of resignation; and this fact our poet assures us he had from the pope's own mouth; and he relates the circumstance of the book, not mentioned by other historians,—one most natural, and unlike a mere invention. Then Cardinal Benedict is called in, and, instead of urging him forward, concealing his own thoughts (which we willingly grant were in favor of resignation), endeavors to disuade him, but gives such information as confirms the mind of the pontiff; who, however, seeks further advice. Whatever, therefore, may have been the sentiments of Cardinal Cajetan as to the propriety of the pope's resignation (which we have no hesitation in saying, *ought* to have been in its favor), there is no appearance here of the base arts by which he is asserted to have raised the idea in Celestine's mind. And surely the statements of one who relates what he saw himself, or, where he speaks of another's motives and acts, what he heard from his mouth, deserved some notice at least—even if only to warn readers that there was such a narrative.

* "——Vocat inde alium quo firmius esset
Consilium. Firmabat idem. Gaudebat anhelus
Presbyter altipotens, statuens in corde relatum."—P. 639

Another contemporary writer confirms one part of Cardinal James's account, that Benedict endeavored to dissuade Celestine from resigning. Blessed Ægidius Colonna, the disciple of St. Thomas Aquinas, and the particular friend of Pope Celestine and of Philip of France, in his work *De Renuntiatione Papæ*, writes: "Comprobari posse ex pluribus nunc viventibus, Dominum Bonifacium Papam VIII., tunc in Minoribus agentem, et cardinalem tunc existentem persuasisse Domino Cælestino, quod non renuntiaret; quia sufficiebat collegio, quod nomen suæ sanctitatis invocaretur super eos, et pluribus audientibus hoc factum fuit." *

If it be said, that so far we have only the testimony of friends, we may ask, in reply, Is not the testimony of friends on the spot, at least as good as that of enemies at a distance? But we will remove this difficulty, by giving that of one who cannot be suspected of partiality for Boniface and who yet had the most satisfactory means of information. We allude to the anonymous author of St. Celestine's life, preserved in MS. in the secret archives of the Vatican, to which a slight reference is made by Rubeus,† but which we have diligently transcribed, with reference to this matter. The title of the work runs thus:—*Incipit de continua conversatione ejus* [*Cælestini*] *quæ quidam suus scripsit devotus.* Throughout his work the author shows himself intimately ac-

* Cap. xxiii. † Bonif. VIII. p. 13.

quainted with the movements and thoughts of Celestine, to such an extent, that we must suppose him to have been one of his intimate companions. He thus relates the circumstances of his resignation. "Adveniente vero quadragesima S. Martini papa ille sanctus decrevit solus manere et orationi vacare, feceratque sibi cellam ligneam intra cameram fieri, et cepit in eadem solus manere, sicut ante facere consueverat." This construction of a cell in the palace is mentioned by Cardinal Stephanesius,* Vegius,† and other writers; the first of whom complains of Celestine's hiding himself in it from the duties of his station. His disciple thus proceeds:—"Et sic eodem ibi permanente, *cepit cogitare de onere quod portabat, et quo modo posset illud abjicere absque periculo et discrimine suæ animæ. Ad hos suos cogitatus advocavit unum sagacissimum atque probatissimum cardinalem tunc temporis Dominum Benedictum*, qui ut hoc audivit gavisus est nimium, et respondit ei dicens quod posset libere, et dedit eidem exemplum aliquorum pontificum, qualiter olim renuntiaverunt. *Hoc illo audito quod posset papatui libere renuntiare, ita in hoc firmavit cor suum, quod nullus illum ab illo potuit removere.*" So far the individual friend and disciple of Celestine confirms all that we have learnt from other contemporary writers: first, that his resignation was not suggested even by Cardinal Benedict, still less procured by unworthy arts, but was the result

* Ubi sup. p. 638. † Apud Rub. p. 11.

of his own reflections; secondly, that Cardinal Benedict was called in by him as his counsellor, and *only* answered him with regard to his *right* to resign. The allusion, in the passage just quoted, to previous cases of resignation is explained by the constitution which he published on the subject,* and which his successor included in the sixth book of Decretals,† as well as by St. Antoninus, to refer to the supposed resignation of Pope Clement I. in favor of St Linus. Our biographer then proceeds to give the account of a procession which took place, upon a rumor of this intention of the pope's getting abroad. Of this likewise we have an account from Cardinal Stephanesius, and another still more detailed from Ptolemæus Lucensis, who tells us that he was in it.‡ Many

* We will give the account of this Constitution in the quaint phrase of Paolino di Piero, in his "Cronica," published by Muratori, R. I. S., tom. ii. p. 48.

"In quello anno quello Celestino Papa andò a Napoli: e daddovero egli era uomo molto santo e religioso e di buona vita, e lo Re Carlo li fere grande onore, e ricevettelo graziosamente. Questo feze una nuova Decretale di nuovo, che mai infino a lui non era essuta, che fece che ogne Papa d' allora innanzi potesse rinunziare il Papato per utilità dell' anima sua; e quando egli ebbe questo decreto fatto e fermo ed approvato per li suoi compagni . . . . . in presenza dei cardinali si depuose il manto, e rinunziò la Signoria e 'l Papato, e fecene fare carta," etc.

† Cap. Quoniam de Renunciat. Sanct. Antonin. ap. Raynald. ad an. 1295, tom. iv. p. 155, ed. Mansi.

‡ "Quod cum perpendisset rex et clerus, mandat fieri processionem a majori ecclesia usque ad Regis Castrum, cui processioni ego interfui."—H. E. ubi sup. p. 1201.

bishops, and all the clergy, at the king's desire, he tells us, were there. Arrived at the Castel Nuovo, where the pope resided, "we called out," he continues, "in the usual form, for his blessing." The pope, out of respect for the procession, came to the window with three bishops. After the papal benediction, one of the bishops of the procession came forward, and in a loud trumpet-voice (*voce altissimâ et tubali*), so that all in the square heard him, entreated him not to resign. He replied, through one of his attendant bishops, that he would not do so, unless further reasons urged his conscience. Whereupon the bishop intoned the *Te Deum*, "in the name of the king and kingdom."* After relating this event, Celestine's anonymous biographer thus continues:—"Audiens et videns idem papa tantem pietatem omnium qui aderant, distulit illam voluntatem: *sed a proposito concepto nunquam recessit, nec fletibus, nec clamoribus, nec etiam rogaminibus;* sed conticuit ad tempus fere octo diebus, ut non molestaretur, et sic per istam sufferentiam omnes credebant illum ab ipso penituisse proposito. Sed infra octo dies,† convocavit ad se istum quem prædiximus Cardinalem Dominum Benedictum, et fecit se doceri et scribi totam renuntiationem, qualiter et quo modo facere debebat."‡ Thus we have a per-

* Ibid.

† This again agrees with Ptolemy's account, that the procession took place about the feast of St. Nicholas, the 6th of December; the resignation took place on the 13th.

‡ Cod. Archiv. Vat. Arm. xii. cap. i. No. 1.

fect accordance between all persons on the spot, and persons who in two instances had the account from Celestine himself, completely at variance with that which Sismondi prefers.

But this true view of Celestine's resignation is further confirmed on every side. Even Villani does not suppose Boniface to have been the first to suggest it, but makes him come in, after Celestine has himself conceived the idea.* Nay, strange to say, Ferretti of Vicenza, Sismondi's best ally, agrees in this same view.† Amalric Augerius, a bitter foe to Boniface, does not hint at his having a hand in the resignation, but attributes it entirely to Celestine's own feelings.‡ Other authorities will be given later, but there is one which we cannot forbear quoting. It is that of Petrarch, who may justly be placed as a set-off to the accusations of Dante. In his book *De Vita Solitaria*, he censures the poet for attributing the resignation of St. Peter Celestine to baseness or cowardice; and proves at length the noble and sublime character of the act. He then proceeds:

* "Questi (Messer Benedetto Guatani d'Alagna) si mise d'inanzi al santo padre *sentendo* ch' egli avea voglia di rinunciare il papato, dicendoli che facesse una nuova decretale," etc.—Istorie Florentine, lib. viii. c. 5, tom. iv., Milan, 1802, p. 11.

† Ubi sup. p. 966.

‡ "Item quod cum ipse Cælestinus postea attendisset ipsum non esse idoneum ad regendum hujusmodi papatum. . . . idcirco," etc.—Vitæ Roman. Pontiff. R. I. S. tom. iii. part ii. p. 434.

"I return to Celestine, whose joyful and spontaneous descent, showed how painful and unwilling his ascent had been. *I have heard persons who saw it, relate*, that he fled with such joy, bearing in his eyes and on his brow such marks of spiritual gladness, when he retired from the consistory —now restored to himself and free, that he seemed as though he had withdrawn, not merely his shoulder from a mild yoke, but his neck from the fatal axe; and that his countenance was radiant with an angelic brightness."*

Such then is, we may say, the unanimous testimony of all who had immediate opportunities of knowing the facts. All concur in freeing Celestine's successor from any suspicion of having forced him, by any unworthy arts, into a resignation. There are, however, one or two minor points in Sismondi's narrative which deserve animadversion as further evidences of his unfairness. He tells us that Boniface first tried to gain the favor of the king of Naples, by making him the most unbounded offers of service, if he would procure him the papacy; and that, having deceived the king into a promise of his friends' votes, he began to employ his arts upon Celestine to induce him to resign. Now surely, independent of the untruth of the latter portion of this statement, the whole story at once strikes one as incredible. Cardinal Benedict and Charles were, according to Sismondi, declared enemies, owing to a severe reproof given by the

* De Vita Solitaria, lib. ii. sec. iii. cap. 18.

former to the latter, on his interfering in matters of the conclave at Perugia.* At the same time Celestine was the king's subject and devoted friend, had granted him everything he had asked for, and had even, to please him, transferred the papal court to Naples. Charles, according to M. Sismondi, "had acquired the greatest influence over the mind of Celestine."† Now, we ask, is it credible that this Cardinal Cajetan, whom Sismondi represents as the haughtiest and most unbending, in his arrogance, of men, would have condescended to court the favor of his enemy? Or is it not still less credible that he, who was at the same time the most wary, or as his enemies would say, the most astute of statesmen, would think of applying to such an enemy, to assist him in removing from power, to make place for himself, one whose mind that enemy ruled, and of whose friendship he was sure? But this is not the worst. The only historian who records the interview between Cardinal Benedict and Charles, adopted by Sismondi, is Giovanni Villani, and to him the modern historian refers as his authority; but mark in what manner! The Florentine puts the conference *after* Celestine's resignation, when the king's influence over his mind could be of no further avail, and when he might be supposed ready to listen to overtures, from one so likely to

* Ptolem. Lucens. ubi sup. cap. xxxi. p. 1200; Sismondi, p. 81.

† Page 79.

be his successor. But Sismondi makes no difficulty in adopting the story, but arbitrarily changing its date, and placing it anterior to the resignation. This, of course, materially affects the character of Boniface. For, to have solicited suffrages for the vacant papacy would not have borne the same stamp of baseness, as to do so before removing its occupier. For this change Sismondi gives two reasons. First, "it is not likely the cardinal would urge the pope to resign, till he had secured his own succession." We have seen that the resignation was not the result of any such malicious plot as this supposes; we have seen how improbable such a course as this attempt to gain Charles was, in such a man as Boniface. "It is not likely," must be taken with the additional salvo of "in the fictitious character of this pope, wherewith it has pleased Sismondi to amuse his readers." Secondly, an interview after the resignation "was not possible, because the cardinals were then rigidly shut up in conclave."* Even this is not correct. The cardinals did not go into conclave till ten days after the resignation, and only remained in it one day; for at the first meeting they elected Boniface.† But if M. Sismondi will have it that Villani's account cannot be placed *after* the papal chair had been vacated, to which we willingly ac-

* Page 82, note.

† "——Excusso bis quino lumine Phœbi
Carcere clauduntur."
Stephanes, De Elect. Bonif. VIII., ubi sup. p. 642.

cede, though not for *his* two reasons, we have no hesitation in saying that it could not have taken place *before* that event. For, from the account, already quoted, of Ptolemy of Lucca, an eye-witness, we see that King Charles sent a procession of bishops and clergy on the 6th of December to entreat Celestine not to resign. And his faithful disciple and companion assures us, that between this time and the eve of his resignation, he perfectly concealed his intention. How can we reconcile this anxiety of the king, to prevent the vacancy of the see, with a plot to dispossess its occupier; or how can his understanding with Boniface be consistent with total ignorance, to the end, of any intention on Celestine's part to resign? But further than this, Cardinal Stephanesius, an eye-witness, informs us, that Charles showed himself bitterly disappointed at the election of Boniface, which was completely contrary to his expectations.* Such is M. Sismondi's way of using his authorities.

As we are on this subject, we may as well mention another instance of this practice of our historian. As a proof of Boniface's arrogance, he relates a well-known tale, of the archbishop of Genoa, Porchetto Spinola, presenting himself for

* "——Caroli spes cepta precando
Defecit, miserante Deo. Sunt ista relatu
Digna, quod et patri nec non sibi præstita noscens
Munera ab Ecclesia, vultus avertit et ora."
De Elect. Bonif. ubi sup. p. 642.

ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and the pope's violently throwing the ashes into his eyes, exclaiming, "Memento quia Ghibellinus es, et cum Ghibellinis tuis in pulverem reverteris." For this story authorities are not wanting. For instance, George Stella, in his *Genoese Annals*, relates it.* But Sismondi prefers referring his readers to a better-known name; to wit, the learned Muratori, who could not be supposed to sanction the tale, so injurious to the character of the pope, without being convinced of its truth.† Would the reader expect that Muratori, in the place referred to, rejects it as a fable? Yet so it is! ‡

2. We come now to our second query: "If Cardinal Benedict used legitimate means to induce the pope to resign, was he not fully justified in doing so?"

We have shown that this cardinal used no unfair arts to bring about the resignation of Celestine; but we fully admit that when called in to give his advice, he followed, in the first instance, the natural impulse of any honorable mind, by endeavoring to calm the pope's uneasiness, and dissuade him; but afterwards showed him that it was in his power to lay down his burthen. Moreover, we have no difficulty in admitting, that his own

* Georgii Stellæ Annales Genuenses, lib, ii. R. I. S. tom. xvii. p. 1019.

† Page 136, note (1).

‡ "Verum hoc fabulam sapit."—Præfat. in Chron. Jacobi de Voragine, R. I. S. tom. ix. p. 3.

views were (with those of the Sacred College) in favor of the resignation. For attributing a particular ambition to him beyond others, in his sentiments and motives, we have only the warrant of the fact, that he was Celestine's successor. Whoever gains by another's loss will be surely suspected, by his enemies, of having procured this. The inference is not correct; but, unfortunately, in a corrupt world, it is natural. We do not pretend to pry into Boniface's heart: we do not maintain him to have been exempt from those secret and lurking feelings, which subtly seek for self, under the cover of public good. But two things strike us as worthy of remark. First, if Cardinal Cajetan was so deeply ambitious, and so clever withal, as to set his heart upon the papacy while in another's possession, and resolve upon the unheard-of expedient of forcing him to resign, and to be able in a few days to secure himself the prize, when it had to be won in spite of the king's personal hostility, and with a college of cardinals just "swamped," to use the modern phrase, by an irregular creation of Neapolitan and French cardinals, how comes it that he made no attempt to gain the object of his ambition *before* Celestine's election, when all were wearied with a two years' vacancy,—when there had been no quarrel with Charles,—and when the Roman party had complete preponderance in conclave? Secondly; how are we to account for the immediateness of his election, and the unanimity of the suffrages, but

on the supposition that his talents, learning, and other qualities, made him recognized by all his brethren, as the fittest for the sublime post of supreme pontiff. And if so, why either, on the one hand, attribute to the worst motives what may have been the natural consequence of obvious causes, or why, on the other hand, treat a man as more than usually ambitious—nay, as basely so, if he did feel that passion, which few men are without, though far his inferiors in abilities, in position, and in prospects? In other words, why attribute to fraud and intrigue the rise of a man of first-rate talents above his inferiors, as though this was not a usual event,—the result of a constant social law; or why make that man a monster who feels his superiority, and tries to exercise it? Not that, supposing this to be Boniface's case, we wish to justify it:—for the humility which, with the sublimest talents, seeks the lowest place, is the true characteristic of a fit holder of the highest. But we are not seeking to make him out a saint—we are only striving to vindicate him from foul imputation. Let us, therefore, even grant that he *was* ambitious; our only conclusion must be, that he was, like ourselves, a frail and peccable man.

But to return to our question; we will content ourselves with giving the account of St. Celestine's proceedings during his short pontificate, extracted chiefly from contemporary authors. Thus writes James, archbishop of Genoa, at that time. After telling us that Celestine created at

once twelve cardinals "in the fulness of his power," and then one more, contrary to all forms and usages, "in the fulness of his simplicity," he proceeds: "Dabat enim dignitates, prælaturas, officia et beneficia, in quibus non sequebatur curiæ consuetudinem, sed potius quorumdam suggestionem, et suam rudem simplicitatem. Multa quoque alia faciebat, in quibus non sequebatur præcedentium patrum vestigia, nec eorum statuta. Et quamvis non ex malitia, sed ex quadam simplicitate hæc faceret, tamen in magnum ecclesiæ prejudicium redundabant. Quocirca ipse videns suam insufficientiam et inexperientiam, salubri ductus consilio, constitutionem fecit," etc.* The cardinal of St. George enumerates these and other evils. He compelled the monks of Monte Casino to put on the habit of his own order; he created in one day twelve cardinals; seven French, not one belonging to the papal state.† He tells us that the entire list was made out by Charles; that on the day preceding the nomination, no one knew of the intended creation, which was quite unexpected. Again he writes,—

> "O quam multiplices indocta potentia formas
> Edidit, indulgens, donans, faciensque recessu,
> Atque vacaturas concedens atque vacantes." *

* Chronic. Jannense, R. I. S. tom. ix. p. 54. Franciscus Pipinus has nearly the same words, Chronic. ib. p. 735. He attributes the resignation, however, in part to Boniface, but only from report: "ut nonnulli referunt."

† To this, in no small part, may be attributed the translation of the Papal see immediately after to Avignon.

* Ubi sup. p. 639.

Another grievance (in which we do not agree with the cardinal) was his reviving the severe constitution of Gregory X., respecting inclosure in conclave, which his successor Boniface confirmed. Ptolemæus Lucensis, who, as we before said, was no friend of Boniface's, thus describes Celestine's administration, after having passed a high eulogium on his virtue: "However, he was often deceived by his officers, with regard to favors granted, of which he could have no cognizance, as well through the powerlessness of old age (for he was in a state of decrepitude), as through his inexperience of government, with regard to frauds and the tricks of men, in which the curials are much versed. Hence the same favors were found to have been granted to two, or three, or more persons, even on blank but sealed parchments." *

The *Milanese Annals* thus speak of him: "Plura alia faciebat quæ in magnum scandalum Ecclesiæ redundabant. Qui videns suam insufficientiam decretum edidit.....et post pauca papatui renunciavit." † It would be easy to multiply testimonies; but these will suffice, to prove the unfitness of Celestine for the sublime office and dignity to which he had been raised, entirely through the fame of his virtue,—fitter for a desert than for the Apostolic See,—by persons who had never seen

* Ubi sup. p. 1200. The last clause, we suppose, means that his seal was procured by his officers for blank deeds, which they fraudently filled up.

† Annales Mediolan. R. I. S. tom. xvi. p. 683.

him, and, with the exception of the cardinal who proposed him, and who died before the pope's coronation, knew nothing of his qualifications beyond the austere holiness of his life.

There are two points which we must briefly touch upon, because they confute some erroneous views of modern historians. One is the grievous thraldom which he nearly brought upon the Church, by transferring the residence of the Roman court to Naples, at the instigation of Charles, and creating cardinals to any amount which the king chose,—showing himself in every way his subject. This was indeed a serious evil, and one to warrant his advisers in recommending him to resign a power, which he could so easily be induced to sacrifice, or rather to betray. But at the same time, what a confutation we have here of Sismondi's most unsupported and most unwarrantable insinuation,—that Celestine probably committed so many mistakes, only because his perfidious adviser purposely led him into them! Can we imagine a prudent and sagacious man, like Boniface, trying to dispossess another of power, by advising him to strengthen the arm and influence of his own enemies? Had Boniface, who was a decided *Roman* in every respect, guided Celestine in everything, from the beginning, as Sismondi would have us believe, surely he would have induced him to go to Rome, and not to Naples; he would have filled the Sacred College with his own friends, and not with the subjects and creatures of the party hos-

tile to him. The second point is, that Celestine threatened great mischief to religion by the liberality with which he scattered spiritual favors, particularly indulgences. Hence, almost the very first act of Boniface was to recall one most ample concession of this character, in favor of the church of our Lady de Collimadio, near Aquila,* and to suspend all other such grants, till further examined.† Now let us hear Mosheim tell us, that "the austerity of his manners, which was a tacit reproach upon the corruption of the Roman court, and more especially upon the luxury of the cardinals, rendered him extremely disagreeable to a degenerate and licentious clergy; and this dislike was so heightened by the whole course of his administration (which showed that he had more at heart the reformation and purity of the Church, than the increase of its opulence and the propagation of its authority), that he was almost universally considered unworthy of the pontificate." ‡ This is really too bad! Not only is this description void of the slightest contemporary authority, nay, in stark contradiction to every such authority, but it is in direct opposition with the principles of the writer. For surely, as a Lutheran, he could not consistently hold the lavish concession of *indulgences* to be the best way of advancing "the *reformation* and

* Raynaldus observes that the grant was made quite in an unusual form.—Annal. ad. an. 1294, p. 145.

† Regest. Bonif. VIII., in Arch. Vat. Epp. 75 et 120.

‡ Ubi sup. p. 367.

purity of the Church." Yet this liberality is particularly characteristic of Celestine's government.

In conclusion of this portion of our subject, we will quote Sismondi himself as sufficient authority for our position, that Cardinal Benedict had sufficient grounds for counselling Celestine to abdicate, if he used only legitimate means for the purpose. "Bientôt," he writes, "Célestin donna des preuves plus éclatantes encore de son absolue incapacité pour gouverner l'Eglisle."* Surely absolute incapacity for an office, makes it matter of conscience to resign it. Hence the best friends of Celestine considered his resignation to be the result of a divine inspiration, approved by miracles, and by prophecy, through his announcing to Benedict that he should succeed him. To avoid further prolixity, we will only quote his anonymous friend and biographer before referred to; who having related the miracles wrought in ratification of the abdication, thus continues: "Post hæc collegerunt se cardinales ad electionem alterius papæ, et ille qui esse debebat hic vir sanctus [Celestine] prædixit et intimavit Domino Thomæ quem ipse fecerat cardinalem, et Domino Benedicto qui fuit electus in papam. Electo igitur papa illo videlicet quem pater sanctus prædixerat, statim ad illum introivit, et ejus pedes osculatus est."†

Every little circumstance connected with Boniface's accession to the pontifical throne is made

* Ubi sup. † Fol. 41.

matter for carping censure. Thus, when he rode in procession at his coronation, a modern publication quotes it as a proof of his pride, that two kings (Charles of Naples, and his son, called the king of Hungary) walked by his stirrups.* Now it so happens that Celestine, whose humility Protestant historians extol beyond their wont, that so they may the better depress Boniface, though he would only, on a similar occasion, ride on an ass, was attended by the same princes;† who in fact came as feudatories of the Holy See, as well as to pay a willing homage to the successor of St. Peter.‡

It is not necessary to enter into a detailed explanation of Boniface's conduct towards his predecessor. The account in Sismondi is indeed highly colored, but it proves some important admissions. One is, that numbers of persons, especially in the Neapolitan territories, would not admit the lawfulness of Celestine's resignation, but would continue to consider and treat him as pope.§ Another is, that he was an easy tool in the hands of any party, by means of which a schism might have been raised in the Church—an event not at

* Rees's Encycl. "Bonif. VIII."

† "Intumidus vilem Murro conscendit asellum,
Regum frœna manu dextra lævaque regente."
Stephan, p. 634. See also Raynaldus.

‡ "Hi reges sociare patrem venere volentes;
Jure tamen; nam sceptra tenet vassallus ab ipso.
In feudum Siculus."—De com. Bonif. ib. p. 650.

§ Sismondi, p. 86.

all improbable in the actual disposition of some states; and in fact, attempted, as we shall see, by the Colonnas and France.* Further, we see that the holy, but weak-minded man, under the advice of his friends, repeatedly endeavored to defeat the pope's plan of having him in Rome, and several times escaped from his conductors. The result was, that Boniface put him in a place of safety,—the castle of Fumone. Sismondi's account leads us to suppose that the good old man was treated with unnecessary rigor in his confinement. This is not correct. A feudal tower in Italy at that age was certainly at best but a comfortless tenement, and so far the confinement was rigorous. But we must judge by the feelings of that age, and not by our own. Ptolemy of Lucca thus writes:—"Sed

* Dante evidently expresses this feeling as a Ghibelline when he makes St. Peter call Boniface a usurper. George Stella, no friend of Boniface's, of whom he says, "Alti cordis, iracundus et rigidus erat idem Bonifacius" (inf. cit. p. 1020), thus gives the same reasons for Boniface's proceedings as the authors quoted in the text:—

"Is autem, dum iter ageret, sui Redemptoris exemplo, sedens asello pergebat. Tum illico summi pontificii pertæsum est: unde quia ad hæc se ut virum simplicem non sentiebat idoneum, ut quidam dicebant, vel quia cernebat amplius eremo posse mereri, constituit ut ipse, et qui simili casu forent, pontificalem possent sedem linquere. Eam liquit igitur . . . . et elegit in solitudinem redire suetam. Verum expertus et scientificus valde Benedictus de Anagria [Bonifacius] nuncupatus Octavus . . . . inhibuit ne discederet ipsum jubens custodire ad evitanda scandala, si a quibusdam idem Cælestinus iterum haberetur in papam."—Georgii Stellæ Annales Gen. R. I. S. tom. xvii. p. 1026.

Bonifacius post ipsum nuntios seu veredarios transmittit ad ipsum detinendum, et inventum ipsum reducunt, et in custodia ponitur et tenetur, pro cavendo scandalo Romanæ Ecclesiæ, quia apud aliquos dubitabatur an cedere potuisset, et sic poterat schisma in Ecclesia generari. *Tentus igitur in custodia non quidem libera, honesta tamen,* in castro ut dicunt Fumonis . . . . moritur."* Giovanni Villani gives a similar account, which we must needs give in his own rich and racy Italian, merely assuring the Cisalpine reader, that its sense coincides very accurately with our last quotation, respecting the motives which induced Boniface to secure the person of Celestine, and the character of his "courteous custody."—"Ma poi il suo successore messer Benedetto Guatani detto di sopra, il quale fu dopo lui chiamato Papa Bonifazio si dice e fu vero, che fece pigliare il detto Celestino alla montagna di santo Angelo . . . . ove s' erra ridotto a fare penitenza, e chi disse che ne volea andare in Schiavonia; e privatamente nella rocca di Fumone in Campagna *il fece tenere in cortese prigione,* acciò che lui vivendo non si potesse opporre alla sua elezione, però che molti Cristiani teneano Celestino per diritto e vero papa, non ostante la sua rinunzia, opponendo che sì fatta dignità come il papato, per niuno decreto si potea rinunziare, e perchè santo Clemente rifiutasse la prima volta il papato i fedeli il pur teneano per padre, e convenne pure che poi fosse papa dopo santo Cleto."†

* Ubi sup. p. 1202. † Ubi sup. p. 12.

The cardinal of St. George goes even further than this; and assures us that, on the one hand, Boniface received and addressed Celestine with kindness, and offered him every comfort in the place chosen for his custody; but that the holy hermit declined any such alleviation, and preferred leading a penitential and eremitical life in his prison. "Post aliquid spatii, eumdem quondam Cælestinum, ad Græciæ remotas tendentem plagas, ut littoribus Vestiæ civitatis maris Adriatici inventum forte comperit (quatenus orbis sui Ecclesiæque discrimina vitaret) solemnioribus a se Siciliæque Carolo II. rege transmissis nuntiis consentientem, Anagniam meare facit, *blande suscipit*, laudemque exhibuit acquiescenti Præsulis monitis castro Fumonis Campaniæ provinciæ morari. Ubi assuetam sicut prius vitam agens eremiticam, *nolens laxioribus quibus poterat uti*, ... mortem vitæ commutavit."* In his metrical account he is even more explicit, but repeats the same account of the kind reception given by Boniface, and the offers of every comfort declined by Celestine.†

Without once deigning to allude to these or other similar authorities, M. Sismondi, by way of justifying the account which he gives of the severity of Celestine's imprisonment, says in a note: "Ce récit est tiré d'une vie de Célestin V., par Pierre de Aliaco, cardinal, *son contemporain*." It is not perhaps easy accurately to define what degree of proximity in time constitutes historical

* P. 616. † P. 658.

contemporaneousness. But we think that our readers will hardly allow the term to be applied to persons, one of whom was born fifty years after the other's death. Now Celestine died in 1296, and Cardinal Peter D'Ailly, or De Alliaco, was born in 1350, and took his degree in 1380. His life of Celestine was therefore probably written nearly a hundred years after his death, and its author could not have either personal cognizance or direct testimony of eye-witnesses, for a single fact in his narrative. Moreover, he lived always in France, and belonged to the party hostile to Boniface's memory—the Gallican party. But the authors whom we have quoted, but whom the French historian does not allude to, were truly contemporaries, living at the time, in the place, and having personal knowledge of facts. Why is the former preferred? Simply, we are bound to answer, *because* he is unfavorable to Boniface; because the unfavorable view is more *piquant*, more romantic, more highly flavored for the palate of such readers as historians like M. Sismondi cater for. Even Mr. Hallam allows himself to be turned aside from true historical dignity and impartiality, by the temptation of such fare. For instance, he relates a story of Boniface's appearing at the Jubilee clad in imperial robes, and wearing a diadem on his head, adding the caution, "if we may credit some historians," and acknowledging in a note that he has "not observed any good authority referred to for the fact." Yet he says

he is inclined to believe it, because "it is in the character of Boniface!" * Such, alas! is too often modern history. The very historian whose duty it is to hold the impartial balance between opinions, admitting no weight into either scale, save sound evidence, is tempted to embrace an opinion, because in harmony with a view of character which he has taken, or formed upon the very evidence of such spurious tales. The enemies of Boniface pronounced him proud, haughty, and disdainful, *because* he did such acts as this tale supposes. These are found untenable on historical evidence, but the false character which they have bestowed is no less kept up—and then the facts themselves are admitted upon it.

II. Hitherto we have been engaged with the commencement of Boniface's pontificate. Gladly would we transcribe for our readers the magnificent declaration of doctrine which he laid upon the high altar of St. Peter's basilica, on the day of his coronation. But we must pass it by, only referring such as wish to see it, to the learned continuator of Baronius.† To him likewise we send such as wish to be fully instructed in the great public transactions of Boniface's pontificate. In the documents so carefully given by him, they will find ample materials for correcting the erroneous views too commonly given of the pope's treatment of other nations. They will find, for in-

* Europe during the Middle Ages, 3rd ed. vol. ii. p. 322.

† Raynaldus, tom. xiii. p. 164.

stance, that the whole of his negotiations, and the exercise of his influence and power were directed, not to the sowing of dissensions, the excitement of feuds, or the kindling of war; but to the pacification of Europe, the succor of oppressed princes and prelates, and the adjustment of differences between contending states. He had not been many days upon the throne before he at once turned his attention to the wants of every part, from Sweden to Sicily and from Spain to Tartary. The vigor displayed by him in all his measures, his efforts to gain by mild persuasions, and, when these failed, by energetic steps, appear in every page of his *Register*, and may be traced in the documents extracted from them by the diligence of Raynaldus. We could hope to add but little to what he has collected; though we would willingly go into some of the principal occurrences of the pontificate, especially the transactions of Sicily. However, we have undertaken to treat principally of the personal character and conduct of Boniface; and we therefore hasten on to a part of his life which has been more especially misrepresented; we mean the contest between the pope and the noble family of Colonna, his supposed persecution of it, the destruction of their fortress and city of Palestrina, the ancient Præneste, and his consequent sufferings and death.

We will introduce the subject by a concise but candid analysis of Sismondi's narrative of the contest, and then proceed to examine it by documen-

tary evidence. He tells us, therefore, that the occasion on which Pope Boniface most betrayed the violence of his character, was in this affair; the events of which he enumerates as follows:

1. There were in the Sacred College two cardinals of the illustrious house of Colonna (Peter and James), who had been opposed to the election of Boniface, and only tricked into approving of it. He cites the authority of Ferretti and Pipino. They were sufficiently powerful to be able to manifest their discontent.

2. The enmity of Boniface probably drove them to espouse the part of the kings of Sicily (Arragon); at least this was the pretext seized by him for issuing a violent decree against them, in which he deposed them from their cardinalitial dignity.

3. The Colonnas answered this violent bull by a manifesto, in which they declared that they did not recognize Boniface for pope or head of the Church; that Celestine had no right or will to abdicate, and that the election of a successor during his lifetime was necessarily null and illegitimate.

4. This manifesto increased the pope's rage; and he confirmed his former sentence, and issued a declaration of war against the Colonnas, in form of a crusade. An army was sent, under the direction of two legates, and many cities belonging to the family were taken. Palestrina, however, defied their efforts.

5. Upon this, Boniface sent ("we are assured") for the celebrated general Guido of Montefeltro, now become a Franciscan friar, to come to the siege. "He ordered him, by virtue of his vow of obedience, to examine how the town might be reduced, promising him at the same time a plenary absolution for whatever he might do or advise contrary to his conscience. Guido yielded to the solicitations of Boniface; he examined the fortifications of Palestrina, and, discovering no way of gaining possession of them by force, returned to the pope, and begged of him to absolve him still more expressly of every crime he had committed, or that he might commit in giving his advice; and when he had secured that absolution, he said: 'I see only one course; it is, to promise much and to perform little.' After having thus advised perfidious conduct, he returned to his convent."

6. Boniface, in consequence, offered to the besieged most advantageous terms; promised favor to the Colonnas, if in three days they appeared before him. The city was delivered up, but the perfidious counsel was followed.

7. The Colonnas received secret warning, that, if they appeared before Boniface, their lives would be taken; and they fled to distant countries.*

We really doubt whether history could match this narrative in partial and unwarranted statements. We will examine it part by part.

* P. 136 *seqq.*

First, then, the whole recital of the origin of the differences between Boniface and the *Colonnesi* (as they are usually called) is quite erroneous. The two cardinals did not oppose his election; neither were they tricked into giving him their votes. Our grounds for these assertions are the following:—1. The narrative of Ferrettus is a mere fable, the fiction of some enemy, unsupported, or rather denied by sound testimony; in fact, Sismondi has done no more than here allude to it in general terms. 2. On the other hand, in the instrument drawn up by the cardinals Colonna, and forwarded to every part of Europe, containing their reasons for disallowing Boniface's election and right to the pontificate, though they vaguely hint at unfair practices in procuring Celestine's abdication,* they never once allude to any irregularity in Boniface's election. Now had such a disgraceful trick been played upon the Colonnas, as Ferrettus's narrative supposes, it would have cast serious doubts, at least in an enemy's eye, upon the validity of the nomination. This silence is surely of great weight. 3. Boniface himself, on the other hand, in his reply to the Colonna libel, declares that those very cardinals gave him

* The very way in which this document speaks of these reported practices, confirms what we have written above concerning the allegations on this subject. "Item. ex eo quod in renuntiatione ipsius multae fraudes et doli . . . . intervenisse *multipliciter asseruntur*." Ap. Raynald. p. 227. Could enemies, who were on the spot, get no better evidence when wanted for such a purpose?

their votes in the usual form, by scrutiny:—"Nec possent supradicta [acts acknowledging him for the true pope] metu proponere se fecisse, qui nos in scrutinio, more memoratæ Ecclesiæ cardinalium elegerant, et nominaverant eligendum in papam, quando de nobis timendum non erat."* Would Boniface have ventured to assert this (which moreover they never contradicted, either then or afterwards, in his process) to their faces, if his election had been grossly irregular, and he had not been chosen by suffrage, but had named himself pope? 4. Cardinal Stephanesius informs us that Celestine was chosen pope by *scrutiny* and *accession*, the usual modes—the cardinals being wonderfully unanimous in their election.† 5. St. Antoninus expressly tells us that the two cardinals Colonna were among the first to give Boniface their votes.‡

2. Did the enmity of Boniface drive them to take part with the king of Arragon? We answer that Boniface showed no such enmity. Soon after his election, he became the guest of the family, trusting himself confidently into their castle of Zagarolo, and being treated as he himself acknowledges, with marked kindness.§ We find also in

* Bonif. Bulla. ap. eumd. p. 231.

† "In summum pontificem scrutinio, accessioneque eligitur."—P. 617. Vid. lib. i cap. i. De elect. Bonif. p. 642.

‡ Chronic. ad an. 1295, pa. iii. tit. 20.

§ "Et post electionem. . . . in castro tunc ipsorum, quod Zagarolum dicitur, et quod per dictum Jacobum tunc temporis tenebatur. . . . hospitati fuerimus, confidenter," etc.—Bonif. ubi sup. p. 231.

the *Regesta* of Boniface, in the Vatican Archives, favors granted to them, in the second year of his pontificate.* What then was the origin of the feud, and on whose side did the fault lie? We answer, that its origin was twofold, and the blame entirely with the cardinals. According to Sismondi, the contest was one between the pope and that noble family; whereas the commencement was a family quarrel, in which appeal was made to the pope. Cardinal James Colonna had three brothers, Matthew, Otho, and Landulf, who were co-heirs with him in the vast possessions of the family. By an instrument dated April 28, 1292, preserved in the Barberini Archives, and published in an interesting, and an important work, for this portion of history,† these three gave up the administration and possession of all the estates to the cardinal; with an understanding of course that he was to administer for their joint benefit, though without any obligation of rendering them an account of his administration. The cardinal kept entire possession, so as to leave his brothers in absolute indigence.‡ Thereupon they appealed to the pope, who justly enough took their part, and

* Regest. vol. ii. No. 442. "Dispensat. Jacobo nato nobilis viri Pet. de Columna, clerico Romano."

† Petrini, Memorie Prenestine. Rome, 1795, 4to.

‡ "Considerantes fore indignum, ut quibus de una substantia competit *æqua successio*, alii abundanter affluant, *alii paupertatis incommodis ingemiscant*, quos tamen [the cardinals] rationibus, precibus sive minis nequivimus emollire." —Bonif. Bull. ap. Rayn. p. 1297.

called in vain upon their brother to do them justice. This is mentioned in the bull of deposition against the cardinal; but Sismondi never alludes to it. To read him, one would imagine the Colonnas were every way innocent, and the most wronged men on earth; and Boniface exclusively the tyrant. So far was Boniface's quarrel from being against the entire Colonna family, that one of the brothers, Landulf, was named by him a captain in the expedition against Palestrina.* The second source of strife was the one mentioned, with some doubt, by Sismondi,—the decided partisanship shown by the Colonnas for the house of Arragon, then at war with the pope. Our historian would naturally lead us to suppose, that Boniface's bull against them was the first step taken in their case. Now, *audi alteram partem;* let us hear the pope's own statement. He tells us that Frederick of Arragon had sent emissaries into his dominions to stir up enmity to him, and that they had met countenance and favor from the family of Colonna, and had been aided and assisted by it; that he, according to the principles of the Holy See, ever more prone to kindness and forgiveness than to severity, now strove to gain them by addressing them with fatherly kindness, now to persuade them by words of charitable correction:†

* Ap. Petrini, p. 419.

† "Eos studuit (Apost. sedis benigna sinceritas) nunc paternæ lenitatis dulcedine alloqui, nunc verbis charitativæ correctionis inducere."—Bonif. Bull. ap. Rayn. p. 225.

and, these failing, held out to them severe threats; showing them the shaft pointed, before it was released from the bow. But nothing availed, and the pope therefore proceeded to demand, as a pledge of their fidelity, the custody of their castles, a right constantly claimed by liege lords, when having reason to doubt their vassal's faith. This they refused, and the pope had recourse to further steps, but not at once.*

3. The document from which we extract these public declarations of Boniface's, is the one which Sismondi calls a violent bull, and which he tells

* Boniface never alludes to an outrage said by many contemporaries to have been committed against him by Sciarra Colonna, in waylaying and plundering the papal treasury. This silence may seem a sufficient denial of the fact; but we think it right to quote some out of many authorities in favor of its correctness:—

"Nam et ipse dicebat quod Stephanus [Sciarra] de Columna suum thesaurum fuerat deprædatus: propter quod inter ipsum Bonifacium et dictos Columnenses summa discordia extitit suscitata."—Amalricus, R. I. S. tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 435.

"In Roma fu grandissima divisione e quistione e guerra tra Papa Bonifacio VIII., e quei della Colonna, perocchè i Colonnessi rubarono un grandissimo tesoro al detto papo."—Cronica di Bologna, ib. tom. xviii. p. 301.

"Eodem anno Columnenses Romani accesserunt et derobaverunt magnum thesaurum auri et argenti Dno Papæ Bonifacio."—Chronicon Estense, ib. tom. xv. p. 341, most hostile to Boniface.

"Nobiles etiam de Columna inimicos habebat, contra quos processit, quia Stephanus de Columna ipsius papæ fuerat prædatus thesaurum."—Georgii Stellæ Annales Genuenses, lib. ii. ib. tom. xviii. p. 1020.

us they answered by a manifesto denying the pope's title to the papacy. He is as accurate as usual: the Colonna manifesto was issued, within a few hours, at the same time as the bull; it probably had the advantage of being the first out. But we must fill up one or two important omissions of M. Sismondi. One would naturally conclude from his narrative, that the denial of the pope's rights was imagined by the Colonnas in revenge or retort for the bull. Now let us look a little at the chronology of events. Let the reader bear in mind that this document abridged by Sismondi, bears date the TENTH OF MAY, 1297. So open were the declarations of the two cardinals, uncle and nephew, against the validity of Boniface's election, before this period, that on SATURDAY, THE FOURTH of that month, the pope had sent John of Palestrina, one of his clerks of the chamber, to Cardinal Peter Colonna, summoning him to appear that very evening before him; because it was his wish to put the question to him, in the presence of the other cardinals, whether or no he held him to be true pope. The prelate conveyed the message; but the two cardinals, instead of obeying, fled, with many of their family, that night, from Rome.* This message the Colonnas themselves admit to have been sent to them, in their libel or manifesto.† Where they concealed

* Pierre du Puis, Histoire particulière du grand Différend entre Bonif. VIII. et Philip le Bel.—Thuan. Append. tom. vii. p. ix. p. 33.

† "Dicendo vos velle scire utrum sitis papa, prout in

themselves at first is not known; but this is certain, that at daybreak on THE TENTH, they were at Lunghezza, a house belonging to the Conti family, in company with the apostolic writer Giovanni da Gallicano, two friars minor, Deodato Rocci of Monte Prenestino, and the singular, and afterwards most holy, Jacopone da Todi, and a notary of Palestrina, Domenico Leonardi, who, by their order, wrote the manifesto, denying Boniface to be pope, which Sismondi speaks of as an answer to a bull published at Rome, twelve miles off, the same day, and probably later in the day! This libel, as contemporaries justly call it, they sent in every direction,* and even had affixed to the doors,

mandato per vos facto, si mandatum dici debet, per mag. Joannem de Penestre clericum cameræ continebatur expresse."—Ap. Raynald. p. 228.

* Bernardus Guido thus writes of it:—"Deinde Domini Jacobus et Petrus de Columpna, patruus et nepos cardinales videntes contra se motum papam, libellum famosum conficiunt contra ipsum quem ad multas partes dirigunt, asserentes in eodem ipsum non esse papam, sed solummodo Cælestinum. Unde citati a Bonif. Papa non duxerunt comparendum, et facti sunt contumaces."—R. I. S. tom. iii. p. 670. This would seem to allude to some libel even prior to the summons through John of Palestrina. Amalricus Augerius thus describes it:—

"Jacobus patruus et Petrus ejus nepos de domo Columnensium tunc Ecclesiæ Romanæ cardinales contra ipsum Bonifacium quendam libellum famosum composuerunt, et ad plures et diversas partes ipsum transmiserunt, et publicari fecerunt; asserentes in ipso libello dictum Bonifacium non esse papam, sed Cælestinum Papam, V., quem captum ipse detinebat."—Ibid. p. 435.

and placed on the high altar, of St. Peter's Church.* Is it a wonder that after this bold act of defiance against Boniface's power, both spiritual and temporal, he took up both swords, and proclaimed war against his contumacious clergy and rebellious vassals? His invitations to his friends were obeyed; the neighboring states sent him troops,† or seized, like the people of Forli, the castles belonging to his enemies;‡ and soon Palestrina alone remained in their possession.

4. This city had been all along the stronghold of the Colonnas, the nest in which all their treasons had been hatched, the refuge to which they could flee in security; Boniface, therefore, turned all his forces against it. On this point we have no comment to make.

5. But now comes the sad history of Guido of Montefeltro. First, let us ask, what historical authority there is for the tale of perfidy, which Sismondi with great "assurance" relates of Guido's being at all present at the siege, or giving any such advice as he attributes to him? He quotes, indeed, three vouchers—Dante, Ferrettus, and

* Histoire, etc. ubi sup. p. 34.

† For instance, Florence: "Il commune di Firenze vi mandò in servigio del Papa seicento tra balestrieri e pavesari crociati con le sopransegne del commune di Firenze."—Giov. Villani, ubi sup. p. 37. Simon della Tosa Cron. sub anno 1297. Orvieto likewise, as Manenti informs us, and Matelica did the same.—Ap. Petrini, p. 148.

‡ Annales Foroliv. R. I. S. tom. xii. p. 174.

Pipino;* virulent enemies of the pope. Between the narratives of the two latter there are glaring contradictions, one at least of which we shall have occasion to see; and Ferrettus, as Muratori well observes, had no better voucher or guide for this tale than the poet, whose very words he quotes. Moreover, through the whole of his narrative about Boniface, he evidently writes from hearsay and calumnious reports, using such expressions as "they say,—it is reported;" as the learned Italian critic observes. Nay it is, in truth, rather startling to find Sismondi referring for his authorities to the pages of Muratori, and never even hinting that their sagacious publisher in both places rejects, as mere fictions and calumnies, the very passages for which he refers. Thus he writes on Ferrettus:—"Quæ hic habet Ferrettus de Bonifacio VIII. et Guidone antea Montis Feretri Comite pervulgata jam sunt; eadem enim paucis ante Ferrettum annis literis consignarat Dantes Aligherius. . . *Sed probrosi hujus facinoris narrationi fidem adjungere nemo probus velit.* . . . Ferrettus hæc a satyrico poeta ambabus manibus excepit, quippe et is ad maledicendum pronus. A quo autem fonte hauserit hic auctor universam ejusdem pontificis historiam, *contumeliis ubique ac pene maledictis contextam* conjicere poteris, Lector [might he not be speaking in anticipation of a more modern work?], ab illis verbis quæ aliquando interniscet, *dijudicant, ferunt;* ea siqui-

* Page 140

dem procul dubio indicant *iniquos vulgi rumores corrupti a famosis, ut aiunt, libellis* Columnensium urbe depulsorum. Ceterum illustres ipsius virtutes, et præclare gesta enarrant coævi scriptores apud Rainaldum, quem vide." * Yet this author, so characterized by Muratori, is the one whom Sismondi implicitly follows, without even intimating to his readers that there exists any other account! But did Guido of Montefeltro, come to the siege, or give the perfidious advice attributed to him by Dante? We see many very strong reasons for doubting,—indeed, for totally denying it. Guido of Montefeltro, whose posterity long ruled in Italy with honor, as dukes of Urbino, was renowned as a general during his life, and in the early part of his career was a powerful enemy of the Church. In 1286 he was reconciled to the Holy See,† and continued faithful to it; till at length, weary of the world and its vanities, he applied for permission to exchange his helmet for the cowl, and his belt for the cord of the humble St. Francis.

Father Wadding has given us the letter addressed by Boniface to the Franciscan provincial of La Marca, in which he gives his consent to the pious desire, which he considers manifestly coming from God.‡ The instrument is dated Anagni,

* Note to Ferrettus, ubi sup. p. 969.

† Istoria Fiorentina di Giachetto Malespini, cap. ccxxviii. R. I. S. tom. viii. p. 1045.

‡ Annales Minorum, tom. v. ed. 2a, fol. 349.

July 23, 1296. In the month of November following, he took the habit at Ancona. This remarkable change of life could not but powerfully strike those who witnessed it; and accordingly we find it entered into almost every contemporary chronicle. But suppose that, after a time, the friar had again been transformed into a soldier, had once more returned to the camp, and superintended the siege of Palestrina, is it not as probable, that so strange an event would have been equally noticed? And yet not one alludes to it. Wadding justly observes, that the simple statement, by grave and competent witnesses, that he persevered to his death in saintly humility and unceasing prayer, is surely to be preferred to the fictions of poets.* No one, we imagine, will be inclined to doubt the truth of this assertion, which refers to the statement of Marianus, and James of Perugia, a contemporary writer. We will content ourselves with giving a few extracts more from such authors, to strengthen his argument.

The Annals of Cesena thus speak of Guido: Millmo. CCLXXXXVI die XVII Novembris, Guido Comes Montis Feretri, Dux Bellorum, Fratrum Minorum est religionem ingressus. Currente MCCXCVIII die Dedicationis B. Michaelis in Civitate

* "At domestici testes, et serii scriptores, dicentes hominem in sancta religione et perpetua oratione reliquos vitæ dies transegisse, et quam laudabiliter obiisse, præferendi sunt poetarum commentationibus."—Ib. fol. 351.

Anconæ est viam universæ carnis ingressus, et ibi sepultus."*

Ricobaldus of Ferrara simply writes, "Guido Comes de Monteferetro quondam bellorum dux strenuus abdicato sæculo Ordinem Minorum ingreditur, in quo moritur."† And in another work he writes of him as then living: "Hoc tempore Guido comes de Monteferetro, Dux bellorum strenuus, depositis honoribus sæculi, Minorum Ordinem ingressus est, ubi hodie militat in castris B. Francisci."‡

The Bolognese Chronicles thus speak of him: "1296. Il Conte Guido di Montefeltro, nobile e strenuo in fatti d' arme . . . abbandonato il mondo, entrò nell' Ordine dei Frati Minori, dove finì sua vita."§

This silence of all chronicles on so extraordinary an event, is certainly a powerful argument against the assertions of sworn adversaries at a considerable distance from the scene. Several other considerations concur to make us still further disbelieve the latter. First, their disagreement about important circumstances. Ferrettus, for instance, makes him actually come to the siege of Palestrina, and examine the fortifications, and

* Annales Cæsenates, R. I. S. tom. xiv. p. 1114. This passage confirms the date assigned by F. Wadding, from Rubæus, to Guido's death.

† Compilatio Chronologica, ib. tom. ix. p. 253.

‡ Hist. Imperat. ib. p. 144.

§ Cronica di Bologna, R. I. S. tom. xiv. p. 299.

pronounce them impregnable; and then, as Sismondi follows him, ask, before giving his perfidious counsel, for absolution "perpetrandi criminis."* On the other hand, Pipino tells us that he positively refused to come, on account of his age and his religious vow, and therefore must have only sent to Boniface his base suggestion.† Now surely this discrepancy between the only two historians who relate the story, upon so palpable and important a fact, as whether Guido was or was not at the siege, and acted the part of a general, is fatal to the whole narrative. Secondly, the total absence of any document on the subject in Boniface's Regesta. By this name is understood the original transcript of all documents issued in a pope's reign, the collection of which compilations forms the bulk of the papal archives. Those of Boniface consist of immense volumes (one, we believe, to each year), in which are beautifully written on vellum every letter, rescript, or decree issued day by day, divided into two classes, the second of which is formed of what are called the Curial Letters. When we read the history of Boniface's active life, and find that, notwithstanding his constant changes of residence, every document is entered in a fair hand, without an erasure or sign of hurry, we are led to form an advantageous

* Ubi sup. p. 970.

† "Qui cum constantissime recusaret id se facturum, dicens se mundo renuntiasse, et jam esse grandævum, papa respondit," etc.—Ibid. p. 741.

idea of the order and regularity of his civil and ecclesiastical administration. But then the total absence of any document relating to a supposed transaction of his reign, must be equivalent to a contradiction of its having taken place.

To come to our present case; we have found in the second volume of his Regesta, Ep. 63, a letter by which Conrad of Montefeltro *citatur ad Curiam*—is summoned to Rome on business; and another in the Curial Epistles (No. 2), in which Guido himself is summoned to come to Rome by a certain day, that the pope might consult with him on important affairs relative to the pacification of Italy. Again we have seen that the document exists (and it is in the Regesta), naming Landulf Colonna captain in the expedition, and a similar one is there relative to Matthew Colonna, who took a like part against his family.* Now is it credible that not a trace should exist, in this collection, or in any other part of the papal archives, of any second summons to Guido, either directly or through his religious superiors, to come to the camp, nor any appointment of him to hold command or act as counsellor in the war? Yet it is even so. Not content with our own opportunities of research, we ventured to apply to the obliging and experienced prefect of the papal archives, to have a more minute examination made. The result the learned prelate has not only kindly communicated to us in person, but given to the

* Lib. iii. Ep. 598.

world in an essay just published. We extract the following, sufficient for our purpose: "What shall I say of the advice supposed to have been given by Guido of Montefeltro to the same Boniface, on the siege of Palestrina, which he refused to undertake, because, to succeed, it was necessary to commit a sin, from which, however, Boniface showed himself most ready to absolve him? This account is Dante's, a notorious Ghibelline. Requested several times by the same person to search in the Vatican archives, if any document could be there found, bearing upon the circumstance: I can pledge my honor that I have not found any such; —a certain proof that none exists. The letter, at least, by which Boniface summoned Guido to come, ought to have come under my eye; but not even of this is there any trace in the Vatican Regesta."* This absence of any document in such a place is, we think, conclusive evidence against the supposed occurrence. Lastly, we consider the whole a fable, because we are satisfied that no such perfidious course as the narrative supposes, was pursued.

6. For, to come to the last part of Sismondi's account of the Colonna contest, we deny that Boniface offered such terms as are described, or that the city was delivered to him under conditions which he violated, or that the Colonnas, warned that their lives were in danger, refused to come to him, but fled. Before we proceed to the confuta-

* Diplomatica Pontificia. Rome, 1841, p.23

tion of this account, we must go a little back. After the publication of the Colonna manifesto, the heads of the family remained intrenched in Palestrina; and, on the fourth of September, it was understood that hostilities would commence. Upon this, the municipal authorities of Rome held a solemn parliament in the Capitol, and sent a deputation to Palestrina to induce the Colonnesi to humble themselves before the pope, and make full submission. They promised everything that was required, and the deputies then proceeded to Boniface at Orvieto, and interceded for them. He yielded, and promised to admit them to mercy, on condition of their delivering up their castles and persons.* Instead of this, they openly received into their walls, Francesco Crescenzi and Nicola Pazzi, his avowed enemies, and, in addition, some emissaries of the king of Arragon, with whom he

* After recounting the course pursued by the deputies, first in regard to the Colonnas, then to himself, he thus proceeds:—"Nos igitur illius vices gerentes, qui mortem non fecit, nec delectatur in perditionem virorum, et filios . . . . . humiliter revertentes suaque recognoscentes peccata ad pœnitentiam libenter admittit, præfatis schismaticis, hostibus atque rebellibus. . . . . [here follow the conditions] gremium non claudemus quin eos taliter redeuntes, sic misericorditer et benigne tractemus, quod sit gratum Deo, honorabile nobis et ipsi Ecclesiæ, et ex nostris, et ipsius Ecclesiæ actibus exemplum laudabile posteris relinquamus."—Apud Petrini, ex Archiv. S. Angeli, p. 420. What a different idea of Boniface's character do these words give us from modern historians' delineation of him! Who, on reading these words, does not believe that he would have acted mercifully?

was at war. Then, and not till then, first on the 18th of November, and again on the 14th of December, he passed his final measures for war.* This treaty or covenant cannot, of course, be the one of which Sismondi speaks: but we have thought it right to relate its history, to show the character of those with whom Boniface had to deal, and the nature of the contest.

The city of Palestrina was vigorously besieged, and as vigorously defended; the question is, was it at length delivered up, under promises which were not kept? We answer, certainly not: and here our proofs are, to our minds, conclusive. In 1311, Clement V., at Avignon, consented to a process being instituted against the memory of Boniface, by Philip of France, Nogaret, the Colonnas, and all his other enemies. The preliminaries indicated anything but a wish to favor his predecessor. In the bull upon the subject, Clement is full of commendation of the king, and fully acquits him of any improper motives; while he orders all the letters and decrees against France to be expunged from the Regesta. This was done, as appears from their volumes; though fortunately the friends of Boniface had copies of many preserved. Full liberty was likewise granted to any one to bring forward accusations against him. The Colonnas charged him with the very crime imputed to him by Sismondi, of having received surrender of their city and castles, under express

* See Petrini, 147.

compact,—"*per bullas et solemnes personas*" (Roman ambassadors or deputies), that he should only plant his banner upon the walls, leaving their custody in the hands of the family. We have two answers to this charge: one a compendious one, which we would gladly give at length; * the other more detailed, put in by Cardinal Francesco Gaetani, existing in a parchment in the Vatican archives. We will give the substance of the replies, corroborating them with collateral evidence.

First, then, it is clear that no such compact was made with the Colonnas, because they cast themselves at the pope's feet and sued for mercy. Sismondi tells us that, admonished of danger to their lives if they came before the pope, after they had agreed to surrender the town, they fled, and did not venture near him. Cardinal Cajetan states that the Colonnas, coming from Palestrina to Rieti, went dressed in black and with cords round their necks, from the gates to the pope's presence, and prostrated themselves at his feet, one of them exclaiming: "Peccavi pater in cœlum et coram te, jam non sum dignus vocari filius tuus;" and the other adding: "Afflixisti nos propter scelera nostra." Now for this account, which is in flat contradiction to the one preferred by our historian, the cardinal appeals to the cardinals and prelates there present, and to the prince of Taranto, who was on the spot and willing to bear witness.† This narrative is confirmed by abundant testimony.

* Ap. Petrini, p. 431. † Petrini, ubi sup.

Pipino gives it in his own way. He tells us that they came to him as above described, and that the pope, "spretis lacrymosis eorum confessionibus atque precibus, velut aspis surda, non est misertus eorum."* But the latter statement is contradicted by others, as well as Cardinal Francis. A chronicle of Orvieto says, that they were received "a Romana curia cum letitia multa."† Villani, who asserts the town to have been treacherously taken possession of and destroyed, tells us that "the Colonnesi, clerks and lay, came to Rieti, and threw themselves at the pope's feet *for mercy, who pardoned them, and absolved them from their excommunication.*"‡ Paolino de Piero, no friend of Boniface's, says, that they came *for mercy*, "whom the pope graciously, and in a kind manner (*grosamente e di buon aria*) pardoned, and absolved from excommunication; *then Palestrina was destroyed according to compact.*"§

Secondly; when they came to Rieti, the city was already in the pope's hands, his general having possession of it. Is it likely that he would, after this, have contented himself with only having his standard there, or have entered into terms with his subdued rebels?

Thirdly; the cardinal denies that any such bulls, as those asserted, existed or could be produced; as none were.

Fourthly; he contradicts the assertion that any

* Ubi sup. p. 737. † Quoted by Pet. p. 422.
‡ Ubi sup. p. 39. § Cronica, R. I. S. tom. ii. p. 53.

ambassadors or mediators were present, but only such intercessors as the Colonnas had themselves brought.

Fifthly; he maintains, that there was no truth in the assertion that the pope, after forgiving them, and imposing a penance on Stephen Colonna, sent knights after him to slay him.

Such is the evidence in favor of Boniface, of which it is useless again to complain, that not the slightest notice is taken, or hint given, by the historian of the Italian Republics. But the cause of Boniface, from whose "process," as it is called, in the Vatican archives, these documents are extracted, was solemnly examined and judged by the general Council of Vienne, convoked and held in 1312, in great measure for that purpose. The decision was entirely in his favor; his memory was discharged from the slightest imputation, in the face of every hostile influence, ecclesiastical and civil. He was charged with heresy, witchcraft, idolatry, and disbelief. The proof of his idolatry was, that he had his portrait engraven on some of his gifts to churches; therefore he wished it to be worshipped. Of his disbelief in the real presence, that he turned his back on an altar while mass was celebrating. The answer was, the abundance of tears with which he celebrated the divine mysteries, and his splendid presents to many altars![*]

III. We must now hasten to his closing scene, a subject, no less than his opening one, of gross

[*] Raynald. ex Processu, p. 550, ad an. 1312.

misrepresentation. On one point, indeed, all do him justice, in his noble bearing and intrepidity, when taken by his enemies. William of Nogaret, with a French force, and Sciarra Colonna, who, like his family, had long forgotten the pardon of Rieti, with a band of retainers, made their way through treachery into Anagni, the city so cherished and favored by Boniface. They ran through the streets shouting "Long live the king of France, and death to Boniface!" The people, panic-struck, offered no resistance; and the two bands having forced their way into the palace, entered at different moments, and by different ways, the papal presence-chamber. In the mean time Boniface had arrayed himself in full pontifical vestments; and, seated on his throne (or as Sismondi writes, kneeling before the altar), with a crucifix in his hands,* over which he hung, the venerable old man calmly awaited the approach of his enemies. The impetuous Sciarra, at the head of his band, with his drawn sword outstretched for vengeance, rushed into the room, but stood on the threshold, overawed and irresolute, before his lord. William of Nogaret followed, with his party, and less abashed, insultingly threatened to carry him off to Lyons, to be deposed by a general council. Boniface replied with a calm dignity, which

* See the account in Villani, cap. 63, p. 116. Pipino tells us he had in his hand a portion of the true cross; and that, like our St. Thomas, he exclaimed: "Aperite mihi portas cameræ, quia volo pati martyrium pro Ecclesia Dei."—P. 740

abashed and humbled the daring Frenchman: "Here is my head, here is my neck; I will patiently bear that I, a Catholic, and lawful pontiff and vicar of Christ, be condemned and deposed by the Patareni.* I desire to die for Christ's faith, and his Church." † This scene, which we only wonder has never been chosen as the subject of the artist's pencil, exhibits beyond almost any other in history, the triumph of moral over brute force, the power of mind, arrayed in true dignity of outward bearing, over passion and injustice. Even Dante relented at its contemplation, and indignantly sang of his enemy—

"Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso,
Enel vicario suo Cristo esser catto.
Veggiolo un altra volta esser deriso;
Veggio rinnovellar l' aceto e 'l fele
E tra vivi ladroni essere ancisco." ‡

After three days' captivity, the people, aroused from their apathy, rescued him; and in a few days he was conducted to Rome; where, on the thirtieth day, he died. That his death may have been accelerated by the shock and sufferings of his

* Nogaret's father had been punished for heresy.

† This was proved in his process. See Rayn. ubi sup.; Rubæus, p. 214.

‡ "Entering Alagna, lo the fleur-de-lis,
And in his vicar, Christ a captive led!
I see him mocked a second time;—again
The vinegar and gall produced I see;
And Christ himself 'twixt living robbers slain."
Wright's Dante—Purgatory, canto xx. l. 86—90.

captivity is not wonderful, considering that he was in his eighty-seventh year, and that his high and sensitive mind would be powerfully affected by the ingratitude of his subjects, and the insults inflicted on him. But such a view would have aroused only our commiseration; and it was deemed expedient that the sympathies excited by the scene of his capture, should be effaced by a spectacle of another character. Sismondi, therefore, again takes Ferrettus as his guide, and tells us that Boniface, imprisoned in his apartments by the cardinal, fell into a violent passion, turned out his faithful servant John Campano, bolted the door, and after gnawing his staff, dashed his head against the wall, so as to embrue his grey hairs with blood, and then strangled himself with the bedclothes.*

We suppose Sismondi was ashamed to follow Ferrettus to the extreme; and therefore omitted that he had gnawed his entire stick, a good long one, to bits ("baculum satis procerum dentibus conterit;" and again: "baculo *minutatim* trito"); that he invoked Beelzebub, though nobody was in the room, to hear him, and that he was possessed by the devil.† These things would have rather been questioned in France of 1809; they are therefore prudently omitted, and just as much taken of the narrative as makes a good romance; for romance it is from beginning to end. At the foot of the page which M. Sismondi was quoting, he had Muratori's point-blank declaration that the

* Sism. p. 150. † Ubi sup. p. 1008.

whole story is an *unworthy lie* ("indignum mendacium"), and reference is made to where a full confutation was to be found. But to have made Boniface die in his bed, with the sacraments of the Church, and like a good Christian, would have been very tame indeed, and would have spoiled all the point of the melodrame, which M. Sismondi had made of his history. Yet we fear we must be content with this less tragical, but more consoling, view of Boniface's end. In his "process" it was proved, that, lying on his bed through illness, "he, according to the usage of the Roman pontiffs, recited, and made profession of, all the articles of faith in the presence of eight cardinals, concerning which the letters are extant of our brother Cardinal Gentili;" * and again, he is said "to have professed in the presence of many cardinals, and other honorable persons, that he had ever held the Catholic faith, and wished to die in it." † Again Cardinal Stephanesius, an eye-witness, gives us the same account, and assures us that his death was most placid:—

——"Christ odum redditur almus
Spiritus, et divi nescit jam judicis iram,
Sed mitem placidamque patris, ceu credere fas est." ‡

Surely, for the very honor of humanity, these authentic accounts ought, at least, to have been alluded to. But what are we to say to his dashing his head against the wall, and his haggard and

* Process, p. 37. † Ibid. p. 131.
‡ De Canoniz. Cælest. lib. i. cap. xi. R. I. S. tom. iii. p. 660.

frightful looks when dead, mentioned by Ferrettus? who, moreover, adds, that his corpse was buried in the earth, with a marble placed over it? Or of his hands and fingers gnawed, as some write?* It pleased Divine Providence to give a striking confutation of these calumnies in 1605, exactly three hundred years after his death. The chapel in the Vatican, which he had built for his tomb, had to be taken down, and his body removed. The tomb (a sarcophagus, not the earth) being opened, his body was found almost completely incorrupt, with a most placid expression; so perfect, that the smallest veins could be traced. It was carefully examined by medical men, and a minute *procès verbal* was drawn up by a notary of its condition, and of the gorgeous pontifical robes in which it was attired. This may be seen at full length in Rubæus.† Now, it is certain that nature does not cicatrize wounds after death; and yet not a trace could be found of any on the head; the skin was entire; and as to the gnawed hands they were so beautiful, "as to fill with admiration all who saw them."

We may now draw to a close. We trust what we have written may suffice to put readers on their guard against the bold assertions of historians, on subjects like these. We must not, however, omit one or two remarks. Although the

* "Morì, secondochè per più si disse, di rabbia, e mameandosi le mani."—Paolino de Piero, ubi sup. p. 65.

† Page 346.

character of Boniface was certainly stern and inflexible, there is not a sign of its having been cruel or revengeful. Through the whole of his history, not an instance can be found of his having punished a single enemy with death. When he sent John of Palestrina to Cardinal Colonna, he might as easily have sent a body of his guards, and brought him by force into his presence. When the Colonnas all came before him at Rieti, he had them completely at his mercy; yet he hurt them not. How, then, can Sismondi's insinuations stand, that he intended to put them to death? Again, he forgave Guido of Montefeltro his many offences, as he did Ruggieri dell' Oria, another capital enemy of the Church.* When he was returning to Rome, after his liberation, in a triumph never before witnessed, Cardinal Stephanesius tells us, that his principal enemy was seized by the people (Muratori supposes it to have been either Sciarra Colonna, or Nogaret), and brought before him, that he might deal with him as he pleased: he freely pardoned him and let him go.† So, likewise, when Fra Jacopone fell into his hands, he dealt leniently with him, and confined him, where others would have treated the offence as capital.‡ These examples of forgivingness and

* "Questi Ruggieri dell' Oria era molto stato gran nemico della Chiesa e del Re Carlo, al quale a prego della reina e di Don Jacomo, Bonfazio che allora era papa, benignamente e graziosamente perdonò."—Paolino di Piero, p. 50.

† Ubi sup. p. 459.

‡ See the beautiful history of this holy man (though in

gentleness, to which we might add others, ought surely to have due weight in estimating the pope's character.

Moreover, we do not find in any writer, however hostile to him, the slightest insinuation against his moral conduct or character; and this is not a little in one who has been more bitterly assailed than almost any other pontiff. The charge of avarice, which has been often repeated, may well be met by the liberality displayed in his ecclesiastical endowments and presents, especially in favor of St. Peter's Church. His justice seems universally to have been acknowledged. Hallam attests the equity of his award between England and France.* He reconciled the republics of Genoa and Venice; and all his negotiations between contending powers were to bring about peace. Even his most energetic transactions had this in view. Nearer home, Florence, as Dino Compagni assures us, called him in to decide, in its own differences, about compensation to Giano della Bella;† and the Bolognese, as we learn from Matthew de Griffonibus, sent three ambassadors to him, and he was chosen arbitrator between them, Ferrara, and Modena.‡ Velletri named

this part of his life led astray by mistaken zeal) in the tenth book of the delightful *Mores Catholici*, p. 407. The preceding page gives an account of Guido of Montefeltro.

* Europe in the Middle Ages, ubi sup.

† Cronica, lib. i. R. I. S. tom. ix. p. 478.

‡ Memoriale Historicum, ib. tom. xviii. p. 131

him its Podesta, or chief governor; Pisa voluntarily appointed him ruler of the state, with an annual tribute; and when he sent a governor there, it was with orders to swear to observe the laws of the place, and to spend all his income upon it.* In fine, Florence, Orvieto, and Bologna, erected statues to him at a great expense, in token of their obligations, and admiration.† Of his literary acquirements we need not speak: no one has disputed them; and the sixth book of Decretals will attest them so long as Christ's undying Church shall last.

* Rub. ex Archiv. S. Ang. p. 90.

† "Dicto anno [1301] statua sive imago Papæ Bonifacii VIII. posita fuit in palatio Bladi."—Cronica di Bologna, R. I. S. tom. xviii. p. 304. [This statue in bronze may still be seen at Bologna.]

ST. ELIZABETH OF HUNGARY.

From the *Dublin Review* for October, 1837.

ART. V.—*Histoire de Sainte Elizabeth de Hongrie, Duchesse de Thuringe* (1207–1231). Par LE COMTE DE MONTALEMBERT, Pair de France. Paris: 1836.

IN perusing the various works which come under our hand, in our duty as reviewers, our feelings must vary according to their character. We speak not at present of such as stir up indignant and unpleasant emotions: the volume before us banishes the thought of all such from our minds. But in turning over pages of a more agreeable nature, sometimes we may be astonished at the erudition displayed by the writer; sometimes we may rather admire his sagacity and genius; some books may convey to us a high opinion of his moral qualities, and others make us long for his acquaintance, as a man of amiable and virtuous character. Seldom, however, has it been our lot to experience the peculiar feelings which have accompanied the perusal of the work now on our table: feelings more akin to jealousy than to any other we have described. It was not the research, nor the rich

poetical genius, nor the deep religious tone, nor the eloquent language of its youthful author, conspicuous and admirable as all these qualities are, which riveted our attention, or secured our sympathy: it was the sincere love, the enthusiastic devotion, with which his task has been undertaken and accomplished, that has made us, so to speak, envy him the days and the years which he has spent upon its performance. So pure must have been the heart and soul while occupied with the sainted object of their spiritual affections; so closed must the feelings have been against the rude materialities of life in this sear generation, while inhaling the healthy freshness of a greener age; so full of delicious meditation, of varied hope, and of conscious success, must his pilgrimage have been, as he strayed from town to town, in thoughtful simple-hearted Germany, to cull traditions yet living in the memories of the people, or discover mouldy records in its libraries; in fine, so full of content and peace must life have seemed while thus passed, in spite of many a trial which needed strong consolation, that gladly would we exchange many of our barren years for but a few so joyfully, and yet so usefully, spent.

But we are forgetting that as yet we have presented neither our author nor his book to the reader, beyond the mere ceremony of announcing their names at the head of our article; and we have been writing as though we believed him possessed of the same happiness as ourselves, of per-

sonal acquaintance with both. The best account we can give of the writer will be our notice of his work, for his character is imprinted on every page. A few brief preliminaries will therefore suffice. The Count de Montalembert is not a visionary who has centred his studies and meditations upon bygone ages, to the neglect of duties required by the present. As a peer of France he has been found in the chamber of his order: once indeed, in earlier days, at its bar, to plead the rights of Christian education against the barbarous monopoly of a semi-infidel university; and since, in his place, to unite the applause of all parties at his noble and eloquent vindication of ecclesiastical rights, outraged in the person of the archbishop of Paris. Versed, and even fluent, in almost every language of civilized Europe; connected with our own country as well as with France by ties of blood; with Belgium by more recent domestic bonds; with Italy and Germany by repeated visits, during which he has imbibed from the one the spirit of Christian art, from the other that of Christian philosophy; with Poland by an enthusiastic admiration of its struggles for independence, as well as a rare acquaintance with its literature; he is not as one asleep, nor as one walking in dreams amidst his generation, but is as able to understand its wants and their remedies as any who will perhaps consider their time lost for public purposes which is not spent in planning railroads or discussing the budget. In England, it will

be probably imagined by many, that a peer who could think of writing a saint's life must be a bigot and illiberal, to say no worse. Now M. de Montalembert is neither: he attaches not the happiness of his country to the augury of a name; he advocates the cause of rational liberty under the government that actually exists, because he considers true liberty as based upon a religious, a Catholic principle, which should predominate under every form of government, and is the unalienable right of every Christian people.* But let him speak for himself, at the conclusion of his beautiful introduction, of which we shall say no more just now.

"It would give us pain were it to be thought, in consequence of what we have said, that we are blind enthusiasts for the middle ages, that we consider them in every respect admirable, enviable, and blameless, and fancy that in the age wherein we live, the nations may not be healed as heretofore.† Far from us the wish to pine away in useless regret, and to wear out our eyes weeping over the tomb of nations whose inheritors we are. Far from us the vain thought of bringing back times which have forever fled. We know that the Son of God died upon the cross to save mankind, not during five or six centuries, but for the world's entire duration. . . . We regret not, there-

* [It is needless to add that this noble writer has fully carried out all anticipations which Catholics had formed of him, as a dauntless public champion of religion, its rights, and its ministers. His career is now better known to every Catholic than it was when this sketch in the text was written.]

† Sanabiles fecit omnes nationes terræ.—Sap. i. 14.

fore, however we may admire, any human institutions which have flourished, according to the lot of everything that is human; but we bitterly regret the soul, the divine spirit, which animated them, and which is no longer to be found in the institutions that have replaced them. It is not then a barren contemplation of the past, it is not a contempt nor a cowardly abandonment of the present that we recommend: once more we say, away from us such miserable thoughts. But as the exile, banished from his hearth for his fidelity to the laws of heaven, will often direct his affectionate thoughts towards those who have loved him, and who await him in his native land; as the soldier, fighting upon distant shores, is warmed by the account of battles which his forefathers have there gained; so be it allowed to us, whom our faith makes us in some sort exiles in the midst of modern society, to raise our hearts and our looks towards the blessed inhabitants of our celestial fatherland, and, humble soldiers in the cause which hath glorified them, to inflame our hearts with the recital of their combats and their victories."—P. ex.

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"Such are the thoughts which have inspired us while writing the life of Elizabeth of Hungary, who loved much and suffered much, but in whom religion purified every affection and comforted every grief. To our brethren in the faith we present this book, alien, both by its subject and its form, from the spirit of 'the times in which we live.' But the simplicity, the humility, and the charity whereof we would recount the marvels, are, like the God that inspires them, above all claims of time or place. May this our labor only bear into some souls, simple or sorrowing, a reflection of those sweet emotions which we, in writing it, have experienced; may it rise towards the throne of God as a weak and timid spark from that ancient Catholic flame, which is not yet extinguished in all our hearts."—P. exv.

These extracts will serve more than all we can

say, towards disabusing any of our readers of a preventive surmise, that the author of such a work as this must be a mere dreamer, who steals from active life into the seclusion of his study, or affects a blind partiality for systems of no practical utility. And here let us indulge in a remark, that will appear almost profane in such a place, that there is more visionary inutility in the modern schemes of *industriel* materialism, in the plans for civilizing and bettering the condition of men in their lowest scale, according to the views of the age, than in all the desires of good and learned men to rekindle enthusiasm for the spirit of the middle ages, and even to revive its usages. The Lanark nonsense,* and the Saint-Simonian madness, which pretend to improve mankind by the fuller working out of the utilitarian principles now in vogue, are more dreams than any of these, and, what is worse, are only *ægri somnia*, the delirious ravings of sickly phantasies and disordered brains. But to return.

We owe the present work to one of those happy combinations of circumstances, which convince the individual that is their subject, of a benevolent Providence watching over his good. Our author arrived at Marburg one 19th of November, and proceeded to examine its church, the first in which the pure pointed architecture was adopted in Germany. Though now in Lutheran hands, it

* [The now almost forgotten system proposed by Mr. Owen, of settlements in community.]

was open on this day, but its only occupants were some children who played among its tombs. Such were the marks of honor that distinguished the festival of its patron saint, Elizabeth! He saw her mutilated statue upon one of the pillars of the church; he diligently studied the rich traces of early painting and carving upon its desecrated altars, representing the principal events of her life; he visited the silver shrine now neglected in the sacristy, wherein her sacred ashes reposed, till the sacrilegious barbarity of the Reformation, in the person of one of her own descendants, tore them thence, and scattered them to the winds. Around it, he observed the stones worn hollow by the knees of pilgrims; and having kissed these monuments of ancient piety, he resumed his thoughtful way. The image of the "dear St. Elizabeth," as she has ever been called in Germany by the people and by her biographers, and as throughout his work he has loved to call her, hovered as a sweet vision round him on his journey; he sought for records of her life, among the living as among the dead; he went as a palmer from place to place, which heretofore she had glorified by her virtues in life; and sought in the collections of ancient documents, all that her age had left on record concerning her virtues. The results of his researches occupy this volume.

Few distinguished persons of any age have found more numerous, or more affectionate, biographers than St. Elizabeth of Hungary. The

list of authorities quoted by De Montalembert consists of thirty-eight printed, and fourteen manuscript works.* Yet, many known to have once existed, have been mislaid, or destroyed. Of the writings thus enumerated, a considerable proportion were by contemporaries of our saint; some contain the juridical depositions of her individual and inseparable companions. Of the later authors, a considerable proportion are Protestants. From the two sermons of Happel, a Lutheran curate (1645), entitled "Diva Elisabetha magnifice coronata," to the third volume of Von Raumer's great historical work on the house of Hohenstaufen, religious prejudice has not been permitted to alloy the pure enthusiastic affection which the name of Elizabeth has ever excited through all Germany. But her new biographer would not content himself with the study of these sources; he naturally felt how necessary, and how interesting, it was, for a proper appreciation of her character, to view her in connection with the time in which she lived, and of whose spirit she so powerfully partook. For this purpose, he ranged through the history, the literature, and arts of her age; and, anxious that his readers should see the admirable qualities of his heroine through the same medium, he has judiciously prefixed to her life, in the form of an introduction, a summary review of the period in which she flourished.

* One of these, the MS. collection prepared by the Bollandists, contained itself fourteen different documents.

This part of the work, we must, at the risk of great injustice to its merits, present compendiously to the reader's notice.

From the title of the book, it will be seen that the period occupied by its history, is a brief portion of the first half of the thirteenth century (1207-1231); a period of time, to the general conception of history-readers, wrapped up in the veil of darkness, usually known under the name of "the middle ages," associated in their minds with some vague ideas about ignorance and superstition, both of which, if they have any connection with the period, find it only in their proper seat, such a reader's own mind. For, in truth, the thirteenth century is one of the most important, and most interesting, in the annals of Christian Europe.

The latter portion of the preceding century had greatly belied the promises of its commencement; the influence of St. Bernard and the immortal Hildebrand, had well-nigh been neutralized by the triumphs which brute force had subsequently gained over the spiritual power of religion, justice, and genius, in Europe and in Palestine. But just at the close of the ill-omened century, the chair of Peter became occupied by one whose soul, talents, and energy, were equal to the crisis, and turned the infant energies of a new era to the purposes of good. Innocent III. ought not to be as slightly touched on as our present theme requires; but his full and just biography by Hurter, a Protes-

tant clergyman,* will claim our future and detailed attention. Suffice it here to say, that not one great or good quality seems to have been wanting to make up his character. As a poet, the two unrivalled hymns, *Stabat Mater* and *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, must sufficiently stamp his reputation; as a statesman, his complicated and successful efforts for the welfare of every country in Europe, must insure his reputation. A man above every temptation of ambition, he is declared by the fact of his bitterest enemies leaving him sole guardian of their infant heirs; as a pontiff, his zeal and success in restoring several nations to religious unity, attest his worth; while his powerful genius appears most conspicuously in the influence exercised by his principles and actions upon his worthy successors in the Apostolic See.

The civil state was no less distinguished by great and beneficial actions, in favor of humanity. The Imperial house did not, indeed, come up to its great destinies; but under its shadow there grew an illustrious scion, the root of a mighty race, that Rodolph of Hapsburg, born in 1218, who, at his coronation, when the sceptre could not be found, took the crucifix from the altar, and holding it aloft, exclaimed, "Behold my sceptre; I wish for none other." The two great codes of German, and of purely Christian, legislation, the mirrors of Saxony and Swabia, belong to this period, when the great cities rose into importance,

* (Since converted.)

and almost every principality could boast of some great name among its rulers. Of France, it is sufficient to say, that it was governed successfully by Philip Augustus, and the greatest of modern kings, St. Louis; of England, that to this period we owe Magna Charta, and our first parliament; of Spain, that it counted among its sovereigns James, the conqueror of Valencia; Alfonso, founder of the university of Salamanca, the hero of the great day of the "Navas de Tolosa," which broke the Moorish power; and St. Ferdinand the Catholic, the liberator of his country, by the conquest of Seville. Every other lesser part of Europe was equally indebted to this epoch, for some signal step in its progress towards regeneration.

In the spiritual life, this century was even more remarkable. The foundation of the two great religious orders of St. Dominic, and St. Francis, is enough to give an indelible character of glory to the age. These two patriarchs of whom Dante writes,—

> "L' un fu tutto serafico in ardore,
> L' altro per sapienza in terra fue
> Di cherubica luce uno splendore.—Paradiso. xi.*

not only trained up two schools of saints, both among their rigorous followers, and among their disciples in the world (of whom St. Elizabeth was

* "The one was a seraph in his love,
The other was, in wisdom, upon earth
A brightness caught from cherub's light above."

one), but discharged a mission of peace and good-will among the hardy nations of Europe; caused poverty, which they sanctified, to be respected; and justice, which they ever advocated, to be dealt to the oppressed. They raised up learned doctors, who left no corner of science unexplored; who, like Vincent of Beauvais, composed entire encyclopædias of human and divine learning; or, like Albertus Magnus, and the angelic St. Thomas, confuted every error, and unravelled all the mazes of philosophical doubt; or, like Roger Bacon, fathomed the mysteries of nature, and revealed her hidden laws; or, in fine, like St. Bonaventura, chose the better part of meditating, in most heavenly mood, at the feet of Christ, and of his Blessed Mother.

The portion of introduction which unfolds the spiritual riches of the age of St. Elizabeth, will not bear abridgment: it is itself too rapid a sketch to be farther reduced, and the attempt would, moreover, strip it of that warm coloring, that living glow of enthusiasm, with which it is so richly tinted. Never were so many great examples of virtue and piety, in every rank of life, collected in one period of the Church, as adorn this century; and if our author has selected one for his *cynosure*, by which to direct his course through its historical perplexities, he has left a rich store of others, scarcely less bright, to reward the affectionate researches of any kindred mind.

Of the ardor with which every branch of sa-

cred literature was pursued during this period, we have already cited several instances, and plenty more might be added. Profane learning—if any such could be said to exist in an age when religion guided every pen—had begun to rise from its ashes; and the science of legislation, in particular, reached a high degree of perfection in the many codes which date from this period. For the history of art during it, we must refer our readers to another article in this Number,* in which we have, imperfectly enough, spoken somewhat of the glorious cathedrals which northern Europe saw arise during the thirteenth century, and of the impulse which the sister arts of painting and sculpture received in Italy, from the schools of Pisa, Siena, and Florence. This, perhaps, is the honor of the age which is most generally known; for who has not heard of Cimabue, Giotto, and Nicolo Pisano? But the poetry of that period, at least out of Italy, is but little spoken of. Yet France probably produced more truly poetical performances then than it has done since. The Count de Montalembert very judiciously excludes the Provençal school, which, by its licentiousness, and almost heathenish profaneness, may be said to have received a taint from its proximity to the Manicheeism of the Albigenses and other such heretics; but he remarks that among the religious poets, epic, lyrical, elegiac, satirical, and even dramatic, compositions, were in use as much as in the age of Louis XIV.

* On Mr. Pugin's "Contrasts."

"Upwards of two hundred poets," he writes, "whose works yet remain, flourished in that century; perhaps the day will come when Catholics will think it worth while to seek in their works some of the most delightful productions of the Christian muse; instead of imagining, with Boileau that poetry began in France only with Malherbe."—P. lxxv.

To Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, Europe owes its first modern drama, as well as England her Great Charter—a double glory not easily to be rivalled. The subject of his poem was the Redemption of Man. Germany, however, has been more just than any other country to the reputation of its early bards, who adorned this century. Its Minnesänger or troubadours, headed, in genius, by Walther von Vogelweide, have their proper place in its literature; the great epic, the Niebelungen Lied, is read by youths at school. But the history of St. Elizabeth is intimately connected with that of German poetry. At the moment of her birth in Hungary seven of the most celebrated poets of Germany, including the aforenamed Walther and the no less famous Wolfram von Eschenbach, were assembled at the court of her future father-in-law, in the castle of Wartburg, contending for the palm of the "joyous science" in a series of compositions known by the name of the poetic War of Wartburg (*Der Singer-krieg of Wartburg*), and published by Ettmüller in 1830. Klingsohr, sent for as umpire in the contest, which had defied the judgment of less refined auditors, announced her birth, and foretold

that she should marry the heir of the royal house of Thuringia.

Here we might be expected to enter upon the body of our book, having been naturally brought to the birth of its heroine. But for this purpose we should be obliged to pass over upwards of twenty pages, to us the most delightful in the volume. The history of poetry in the thirteenth century—the age of Dante—could not be complete without embracing Italy. But even its first half, of which De Montalembert chiefly treats, before the divine poet was born, was far from barren of successful cultivators of the sacred muse. He himself mentions his great predecessors; but it is a curious fact that the first to whose poems a date can be assigned, is that most wonderful saint of the period—St. Francis of Assisium. We are not surprised to see our youthful author yielding himself up, on the mention of his name, to the flow of religious enthusiasm, which it must excite in any bosom that contains a heart capable of rightly estimating his superhuman virtues. Our author admirably characterizes that age in a few words when he tells us it may be considered the age of St. Francis and St. Louis. But the influence of the latter was comparatively limited to the country which he governed in righteousness and truth; while that of "the Seraph of Assisium" extended to entire Europe. He was the first man who laid a foundation in modern society for the importance of the people; he made, as we have already re-

marked, poverty glorious and a lowly condition enviable; for while on the one hand his virtues attracted towards him and his the veneration of the great, the daughters of kings, and the noblest knights were among the first to enroll themselves in his secular institute. As during life he was the regenerator of popular poetry, so after death he became the favorite theme of art, and his tomb was its earliest sanctuary. The wonderful union in him of childlike simplicity and noblest sentiment, of a sympathetic affection for nature and all it contains, and the highest soarings after heavenly things that man was ever admitted to since the apostolic age, forms a character wherein all the perfections of the earlier Church seem to have mingled with the germs of the new state into which society had entered, giving them a moral energy they never else so powerfully possessed.

It will not then seem wonderful that St. Elizabeth, though living in Germany, should have felt the influence of his character—should have joined her age in its universal admiration of his privileged holiness, and should have been the first to introduce his order into her own country. Many points of resemblance may easily be traced between the characters of both; but there is one on which many may be tempted to doubt our prudence if we speak much. It is not the simplicity of heart, for which both were equally remarkable, nor their absolute love of poverty, nor any other such rare virtue, to which we allude; but to the wonderful

or miraculous events which all contemporary historians have described in their lives. Upon this matter we think it better to introduce M. de Montalembert's own words, because they record the convictions of one who has deeply studied the monuments of that age, and who, not being anonymous as we are, cannot excite the unjust suspicion that he would not have courage openly to avow his sentiments. Thus he writes towards the close of his Introduction—

"We are aware that to put forth such a biography as this in its complete form, we must be prepared to meet with a class of facts and of ideas, which the unsettled religions of modern times have long since marked with reprobation, and which a sincere but timid piety has too often excluded from religious history; we allude to those supernatural phenomena which are so frequent in the lives of the saints, which faith has consecrated by the name of miracles, and worldly wisdom branded with that of legends, popular superstitions, and fabulous traditions. Of such events there are many in the life of Elizabeth. We have been as scrupulously exact in recounting them as in every other portion of her history. The very thought of omitting, palliating, or interpreting them with skilful moderation would have shocked us. It would have been in our eyes a sacrilege, to suppress what we believe as true, out of deference to the haughty reason of our age: it would have been a culpable want of accuracy; for these miracles are recorded by the same authorities as the other events which we narrate, and we should not have known what rule to follow in admitting their veracity in one case and denying it in others. In fine, it would have been an act of hypocrisy; for we avow, without shrinking, that we believe with the strongest good faith, the most miraculous occurrences which have been recorded of God's saints, and of St. Elizabeth in particular. It has not even cost us any

sacrifice of our feeble reason to attain this conviction; for nothing appears to us more reasonable and more natural in a Christian than that he should bow with gratitude before the mercies of his Lord, when he sees them suspend or modify those natural laws which they enacted, to secure and glorify the triumph of much higher laws in the moral and religious order. Is it not soothing and easy to conceive how souls, tempered as was Elizabeth's, and her contemporaries, elevated by faith and humility above the cold reasonings of earth, purified by every sacrifice and every virtue, living habitually, as though by anticipation, in heaven, presented a field ever ready for the operations of God's goodness: and how the faith of the people, ardent and simple, claimed, and in a manner justified, the frequent and familiar interposition of that Almighty power, which the senseless pride of our days, by denying, repels!"—P. 104.

Long as this quotation may be, we have in reality stopped short in the opening of a truly eloquent and feeling passage, which we would gladly have given at length. We have selected this portion on account of the moral courage which it displays, and which is as requisite in France as in England, for making such an avowal. We are rejoiced to see it; and we unhesitatingly say, that the life of St. Elizabeth would have been but as a moral tale, rich indeed in every display of virtue, but devoid of its most pathetic and consoling incidents; barren of that sublime interest, which the close communion of a soul, the simplest and purest, with heaven, must excite, had a cowardly respect for a scoffing or a doubting age induced our author to suppress a series of facts attested as strongly as any in history can be. We regret no

less the necessity we are under of passing over several other delightful pages, which treat of the honor paid to God's saints in those ages of simple faith. The rich source of practical thought which the virtues of His Blessed Mother in particular afforded; the influence, bland and salutary, which her devotion exerted upon society and character; the many forms in which this feeling blended with the love of nature, or the chivalry of life, illustrated as they are by the learning, published and manuscript, of the age, form a theme on which our author expatiates in a fervent strain, that does equal honor to his scholarship and to his heart.

Sensible that we have discharged our duty most inadequately towards the introduction of this valuable work, we feel no small discouragement at the idea of undertaking to analyze the biography itself. Indeed, we at once declare our inability to do anything like justice to it. To condense is impossible, without stripping the life of its beauty of detail; and to extract is difficult, where every chapter has its own peculiar charm. We propose, therefore, to ourselves no higher aim than to rouse the curiosity of the religious reader to a perusal of the entire work; and, if possible, to induce some one among them to translate the entire book into our language, as it has already been translated into German and Italian.*

The life of St. Elizabeth is remarkable from exhibiting the purest perfection of Catholic virtue

*[This has been done by Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, Esq.]

in every extreme of life, in the princess and the beggar: and all within the short duration, from birth to death, of twenty-four years. Daughter of the king of Hungary, she was asked in marriage for his son, by Hermann, duke of Thuringia and Hesse, when she was only four years old. Her father having acceded to his request, delivered her into the hands of the duke's ambassadors with valuable presents; and she was conducted to the ducal castle of Wartburg, above the city of Eisenach, to be brought up in the company of her future husband Louis, who was a few years older than herself. They grew up like brother and sister, by which names they continued to call one another, even after their happy marriage. Her early piety, and contempt of all pomp, drew upon her the ill-will of the court; and every effort was made, after the death of Duke Hermann, to induce Louis to send her home, and seek another match more suitable to his dignity. But the youthful prince had learned to know and value her virtues, for his own life had been spotless from infancy, and proof against every temptation purposely thrown in his way. They were married when she was but thirteen, and led a life of wedded affection such as the world has seldom witnessed. In 1227 Louis took the cross; and after a farewell, the particulars of which must move the dullest feelings, joined the emperor in Italy, with the flower of German chivalry, whereof he was considered the brightest ornament. He was seized at Otranto with a fever,

and died with such edifying piety, as to have received the honors of a saint.

During this first period of St. Elizabeth's life, one is at a loss which most to admire, the infantine simplicity of her character, or the regal magnificence of her charity. As to the first, although she joined in all the festive and splendid scenes of her court, although her gayety and cheerfulness were the life of her board, she seems never to have been conscious either of her high rank or of her superior qualities. As a wife, devoted with unbounded affection to one who as religiously returned her love, she wore the diadem and the embroidered robe simply because his station required it, and it made her pleasing in his eyes. So little did she seem to know the value of these splendid baubles, that if, on returning home from some public occasion in royal array, she found her purse exhausted, and the poor not all relieved, an embroidered glove, or a jewelled bracelet, or even her mantle of state, was given away, as applicable to no better use than to lighten their distress. And hence, when her husband went too far from home to bear her in his company, she instantly put on a widow's unadorned apparel, and wore it till his return. She always delighted in the company of the lowly and wretched; and when she had on such occasions of separation clothed herself in the dress which this class of persons generally wore, she would exclaim, in a spirit of foresight, if not of prophecy, "Thus shall I walk, when I shall

be poor and miserable for the love of my God." But on this quality of her character we must let her biographer be heard.

"We willingly acknowledge, that in the life of this saint which we have studied with so much affection, no trait has appeared to us so moving, so worthy of admiration and envy, as this infantine simplicity, which may raise on some lips a disdainful smile. To our eyes this guileless giving way to every impulse, her frequent smiles and tears, her girlish joy, and uneasinesses, the innocent playfulness of her soul while reposing on the bosom of her heavenly Father, mingled as, all these qualities were with such painful sacrifices, such serious thought, such a fervent piety, and a charity so devoted, so active, and so ardent, form a most charming and distinguished trait. But more particularly in an age like this whereof the flowers are all withered, without having first ripened into fruit, when all simplicity of character is extinct in the heart, and in domestic, as much as in social and public, life, no Christian can study without emotion and without envy, how this quality developed and displayed itself in the soul of our Elizabeth, whose short life was no more than a prolonged and heavenly childhood,—an unceasing obedience to the words of Our Saviour; when taking a little child and placing it in the midst of his disciples, he said, 'Unless ye become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.'"—P. 63.

Of the extraordinary, or, as some would call it nowadays, extravagant charity of St. Elizabeth, we have given an instance just now. This was in her an indefatigable virtue, and as varied in its manifestations as are the forms of human misery. She founded hospitals where she could serve the sick with her own royal hands; she refused food and alms to none that came to ask them; and she

daily trod the rugged path from her castle to the city, to seek out such as were too feeble to ascend it. She stripped herself of her jewels, and again and again she cleared out her wardrobe, till she had no dress befitting her rank, or in which to meet visitors of her own condition. To understand, or even to justify, this charitable prodigality, it must be observed that her virtuous husband allowed her full liberty to dispose of what she pleased in this manner, and never murmured, when he saw her apparently squandering her own and his possessions. A remarkable instance of this mutual good understanding occurred in 1226. The duke was summoned to Italy by the emperor, to assist him in his wars, and left his large estates under her government. He had scarcely departed, when a frightful famine invaded all Germany, and Thuringia in particular. The duchess applied to the relief of the poor all the money in the treasury, amounting to 64,000 gold florins, an enormous sum in those days, which had been amassed by the sale of certain domains. In vain did the officers of state remonstrate, and oppose her generosity; when the treasury was emptied, she opened the royal granaries, in which was corn valued at the price of two of the largest ducal castles, and of several cities. All this was most prudently distributed, so that nine hundred poor received their daily sustenance at the castle. Twice a day the duchess descended to the city to minister to the infirm; and she opened two new hospitals for

their use. When the harvest drew near, she assembled all the poor; gave to each a sickle, a dress, and some money, and sent them to work in the fields. In a few months the duke returned, to the great joy of all his people; and was met at some distance by his chief officers, who thought to avert his anger by accusing his wife of having, in spite of their strong opposition, dissipated his treasure, and emptied his stores. "His only answer was, 'Is my dear wife well? This is all I wish to know; what matters all the rest?' He added, 'I wish you to allow my dear Elizabeth to give as much alms as she likes, and to assist rather than contradict her. Let her give all she pleases for the love of God, provided she only leaves me Eisenach, Wartburg, and Naumburg. God will restore all the rest whenever it pleaseth him; alms will never bring us to ruin.' Then he hastened to meet his dear Elizabeth. When she saw him, her joy knew no bounds—she threw herself into his arms, and kissed him a thousand times with heart and mouth. And while they thus embraced, he said to her, 'My dear sister, how have thy poor fared during this hard season?' To which she meekly answered, 'I have given unto God that which His was; and He hath kept for us what was thine and mine.'"—P. 115.

If credit can be given to the unanimous testimony of contemporary writers, supported not only by the assent of Protestant historians, but by the tradition of the Lutheran population, Louis had

reason, indeed, to allow full scope to her boundless charity. One of the beautiful histories, thus cherished in the faithful memory of the people, is the occurrence, often quoted in pious writers, of her husband surprising her as she descended the hill to the town, laden with provisions for the poor, and playfully insisting upon seeing what she bore in the gathered folds of her robe, when, to his amazement, the more so as it was the depth of winter, he found it filled with beautiful roses.

The reader may judge how much we have fallen short of the interest which this portion of our saint's life possesses, when we inform him, that we have condensed, in these few paragraphs, what occupies one hundred and fifty pages of large and close printed octavo, in the work before us. Arrived at the second period of her life, which begins with her husband's death, her biographer warns the few readers who his modesty supposes will have followed him through his work, that from that moment they will find in her annals no attractions proceeding from human interest; that all the romantic features of her previous history vanish; and instead of the youthful princess serving God in simplicity of heart, amidst the allurements of a dangerous station, they must expect to see a penitent, versed in all the rigors of an ascetic life, and treading the less singular, but rougher, path of ordinary Christian perfection.

Following the advice of evil counsellors, her brothers-in-law seized on the supreme command,

in detriment of the rights of Louis's children, and ordered his widow to depart with them at a moment's warning, and without any preparation, from the castle. At the same time severe penalties were proclaimed in the city against any one who should harbor her. She descended the hill in tears, bearing in her arms an infant, born since her husband's demise, while her other three children were led by her faithful maids of honor, whose depositions, after her death, form the principal source of her biography. It was the depth of winter, yet every door of Eisenach was shut against her; of the thousands who had been relieved by her bounty, not one was found sufficiently generous to brave the inhuman decree pronounced by her relations. She at length took refuge in the shed of a public inn, appropriated to the swine, and supported herself by spinning, while her heart was engaged in prayer, and her soul daily purified from every terrene affection. During this period, she attained that sublime height of contemplative perfection, which has seldom been granted but to the poor and humble, and which forms a theme too holy to be touched on in this place.

The family of the princess could not long be kept in ignorance of her forlorn situation, and her uncle, the bishop of Bamberg, gave her an asylum in the castle of Botenstein. Here she continued to spend her time in every practice of virtue, devotion, and charity, till summoned to Bamberg by

an important event. Her husband, before his death, had exacted a promise from his noblest followers, that, their crusade ended, they would bear his mortal remains to his own country, there to be buried among his dear monks at Reinhartsbrün. After two years, they returned from Palestine, and passing by Otranto, where he had died, disinterred his bones, placed them in a rich shrine, and bore them in solemn procession to Bamberg. There the afflicted widow met them, and gave vent to her last burst of human feeling. But the faithful knights having learnt her wrongs, swore to revenge them; and immediately after the funeral obsequies of her husband, obliged her brothers-in-law, now ashamed of their unnatural conduct, to restore her to her station. The town of Marburg with its territory, was assigned to her Here she built herself a cottage, adjoining an hospital which she had founded; took the habit of St. Francis, with whom she had corresponded shortly before his death, and spent two heavenly years, divided between active charity and divine contemplation. Her death, which was worthy of her life, and the details of which, as given by M. de Montalembert, in the simple language of the old chroniclers, are beautiful and most affecting, was soon followed by universal veneration. Her brother Conrad, after several years spent in frightful crimes, became a sincere penitent—entered the Teutonic order, of which he was soon the brightest ornament, and dedicated his abilities to

forwarding the canonization of her whom, living, he had so grossly outraged. He lived long enough to commence the great church of Marburg in her honor; the first, as we have before remarked, in the pointed style of Germany. We will not fatigue our readers with an account of the beautiful ceremony of St. Elizabeth's disinterment or translation, at which upwards of a million of pilgrims attended from all parts of Europe, when her body was borne by archbishops, assisted by the emperor Frederick, who, taking the diadem from his brows, placed it upon hers—for the body was entire—saying, "As I could not crown her as my empress when living, I will crown her this day, as a queen immortal in the kingdom of God." * Still less are we willing to disgust them, by the account which Lutheran writers have given us of the desecration of her shrine by her descendant, the Landgrave Philip, whom Protestants surname "*The Generous;*" the same worthy to whom Dr. Martin Luther gave leave to have two wives. It is revolting and horrifying to the last degree; and shows in its proper light, the character of one among the princes that honored the Reformation by their protection, and by their early adoption of its principles.

The sketch which we have given of this interesting and edifying biography will suffice to show

* This alludes to the offer of marriage made her by the emperor, after her husband's death; an offer which, like several others, she firmly refused.

it possessed of, perhaps, stronger contrasts of situation, and a nobler scope for display of character, than any work of fiction would easily venture to invent. The spectacle of one, a duchess to-day and an outcast to-morrow, a rich princess in the morning and a beggar before night, seems scarcely within the reach of historical possibility, even in our days of revolutionary dethronements. But the sublime dignity of Catholic virtue which the sudden change calls into play, and the sterling value which the transition stamps upon the conduct of the better days, are such as have belonged, and yet belong, in various degrees, to the characteristics of our holy religion. Every Catholic must read this life —a type of many others which have been led within his Church—with sentiments of pride and of gratitude; and what is more important, with improvement to his best and most valuable feelings. It affords lessons of instruction for the rich, and of consolation for the poor: it presents models for the religious contemplative, and for him who moves amidst the active operations of life: it contains admirable rules of conduct for the single, the married, and the widowed; it exhibits beautiful examples of justice and condescension for a sovereign on the throne, as of resignation and noble independence for the lowest orders of society.

Historical parallels are an interesting pursuit, and our present number has already exhibited one between two chancellors of England;* we feel al-

*[On Ozanam's interesting work, *Les Deux Chancelliers d' Angleterre.*]

most tempted to institute a similar one between our Queen Elizabeth and the saint who three centuries earlier bore her name. In perusing the life before us, we have been involuntarily forced to contrast the two—the one gracious and meek, the other haughty and overbearing; the one simple and artless as a child, the other crafty and deceitful; the one bountiful and charitable, the other griping and avaricious; the one forgiving the grossest injuries with a smile, the other persecuting her favorites to death for a suspicion; the one radiant in beauty, yet heedless of her charms, and casting her rich apparel to the poor, the other affecting artificial youth amidst wrinkles, and draining her courtiers' purses for presents of finery, and even commoner garments;* the one faultless, as a virgin and as a wife, the other endeavoring to steer an unsafe course between the reputation of maidenhood and the lubricity of scandalous favoritism; the one, at the early age of twenty, ready to exchange her coronet for the humble cord of St. Francis, and riches for beggary "for dear Jesus' sake," and expiring with joy at twenty-four, the other, withered in body and mind, after a life of seventy prosperous years, and a reign of forty-five, unable to make up her mind to leave the world, or even to speak of a successor: yet the first is but as one among many Catholic sovereigns and princesses of her own age; her aunt St. Hedwige of Poland; her daughter Sophia of Hesse; her nieces St. Cune-

* Lingard, vi. p. 658, 5th ed.

gunda, and St. Margaret of Hungary; her sister-in-law, B. Salome: her grand-niece and namesake, St. Elizabeth of Portugal; her contemporary and admirer, Blanche of Castille, the mother of St. Louis; while the other stands alone—the paragon of Protestant queens! The Post lately informed us that in August last, at a meeting held at Worcester to congratulate our young and gracious sovereign, the Protestant bishop of the city related the following anecdote:—

"About eight or nine years ago, the duchess of Kent had requested the bishop of London and the bishop of Lincoln to come to Kensington for the purpose of examining into the proficiency of the youthful princess in her education. One of the right reverend prelates observing that the princess had been lately reading the History of England, said to her, 'Pray tell me what opinion you have formed of Queen Elizabeth.' The princess, with the modesty and timid deference belonging to her character, answered, 'I think that Queen Elizabeth was a very great queen, but I am not quite so sure she was so good a woman.'" (Great applause.)

We are rather tempted to doubt, whether, on putting the question, the right reverend interrogator anticipated the second clause in the answer; for the inquiry looks as if intended to elicit some display of sectarian feeling, perhaps some sentiment which could lead to a proposal of her as a model of the Protestant queen. If so, all was baffled by the upright sense and heart of the young princess, who, we are glad to see, had so early learnt to prize moral, above regal, greatness. We trust too, though the anecdote does not state it, that the

right reverend interrogator proceeded to say, that some mistake lurked in the wise and virtuous reply, and reminded his royal pupil, that no sovereign deserved to be called great who was not good. If, indeed, after the exposures of modern historical research, there still hang an ideal charm about the royal name "Elizabeth," we are sure that it would be sooner converted into a real one, in her who should copy, so far as circumstances permit, the mild and amiable virtues of the German princess, than in any who should choose as a pattern the murderess of Mary Stuart. The blood of *our* St. Elizabeth has flowed into every noble line of Germany, till we believe it has now reached our throne: may similar virtues attend the proud descent!

BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF THE

COUNCIL HELD AT CONSTANTINOPLE,

A.D. 1166.

With remarks on the newly-discovered Testimony of St. Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium, in the Fourth Century, in Favor of the Real Presence in the Blessed Eucharist.

[From the *Catholic Magazine.*]

At a moment when Socinianism may be said to be gaining ground in Europe, it must be interesting to learn the particulars of the council held at Constantinople, on an important part of the Arian controversy, in 1166, the acts of which have lately been brought to light. Besides the interest it must excite from its direct object, it is of immense value to Catholics from other considerations, which we shall endeavor to present.

That such a council had been celebrated was known from ecclesiastical history; and Leo Allatius had even seen the original acts, which have now been published.* This important publication we owe to the late indefatigable librarian of the

* De Consensu, lib. ii. 12.

Vatican, Monsignor Mai. The acts are found in several manuscripts, but the learned editor has naturally preferred the MS. 1176, which is one of the original copies, made certainly during the life of the emperor Manuel Comnenus, and probably in the council itself. The first is evinced by the portraits of the emperor and his consort Maria, painted at the beginning of the work. These could not well have been executed in a later reign; for Andronicus, who succeeded Manuel, was the great enemy of his house, and cruelly murdered his son Alexius, and this very empress Maria. But a still more precious determination of the authenticity of this copy is found in the autograph signatures of all the patriarchs and bishops who attended the council, twice repeated in this manuscript. These Monsignor Mai has engraved in his publication.*

The acts are entitled: "Synod upon the saying, '*The Father is greater than I.*'" The first action is almost entirely occupied with preliminary matter, but is, in reality, the most interesting portion. We are informed that, in the twenty-third year of the emperor Manuel Comnenus, great and troublesome disputes had arisen in the (Greek) Church, and caused tumults even among the people, respecting the true interpretation of John xiv. 23,—"*The Father is greater than I.*" "The streets, the lanes, the houses," were full of

* Scriptorum Vet. nova collect. 4to. tom. iv. Romæ, 1831.

angry discussions on this subject.* One party maintained, that the words expressed merely the connection of Christ's divine nature with the Father, and consequently mere *procession;* others asserted, that they spoke of the relation of the human nature, and therefore of real *inferiority.* Both sides, as usual, had recourse to hard names; the former accused their opponents of Nestorianism; and were complimented, in return, with the name of Monophysites. The royal theologian—for, Ephræmius assures us that Cæsar composed catechetical sermons, called σελέιτια, with great skill, and no suspicion of their spuriousness, and thence encouraged, dived into deep mysteries, as though he had been inspired by Christ himself*—sided with the second of their opinions.

How then did he attempt to gain a satisfactory solution of this question? Did he peruse his Bible carefully to find other passages, which might throw a light upon these obscure words? Or did he send some promising scholar to make a biblical tour, like Birch, or Adler, or Scholz, to ascertain

* Script. Vet. nova collect 4to. tom. iv. p. 4. Romæ, 1831.

† The expressions of this metrical chronicler are curious, and may serve as a specimen of his style.

Ἀλλ' ὠδίνων γε. και κατηχητηριους ἡ παιδας ἀπετικτεν εἰγενεις λογους οἰς φασι σελεντια συνετους ἀγαν ὁσῳ πρωϊων ἡμμενος και δογματων περι Θεου λεγειν τι και κλυειν θελει νουν δυσειρικτους δογμασι δ' ἰφιστανων πευσει προσηγε και λυσεις τουτων περι, ὡς ἀν μηθεις προς Χριστου τοἡ των περι.

Ephræmii Cæsares, Scriptor. Vet. tom. iii. p. 116. His account of our council, in the same page, is not correct.

whether any manuscript yielded a various reading bearing upon their illustration? Or, in fine, did he propound it as the subject of a prize essay, for youthful theologians to write and exercise their ingenuity upon? Instead of these fashionable modern ways of arriving at the interpretation of the text, our imperial divine takes a sadly popish way of going to work. In spite, the acts tell us, of the cares of the empire, which fell upon him "thick as rain drops," he had all the opinions of the ancient Fathers upon this subject collected together; and, not content with his own sovereign judgment, he submitted them to the inspection of his patriarchs, and asked their decision.* After the recital of these circumstances in the acts, follow the texts so collected, sometimes from works now lost, and comprising, not merely the Greek, but also many of the Latin, Fathers. The list consists of St. John Damascene, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Athanasius, St. Amphilochius, St. Cyril, St. John Chrysostom, St. Leo, St. Anastasius, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Agatho, Sophronius, and St. Basil. After these come the learned arguments of the emperor, who addressed by turns different theologians, to bring them over to his opinions. Not satisfied, however, with the result of his labors, he determined to have a synod, in form. It met in the part of an imperial palace built by himself,—Ἐν τῇ ὑπερῴᾳ τροπικῇ τῇ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τοῦ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ παλατίῳ πορφυρομανυηλάτῳ

* Page 5.

τρικλίνου,* on Tuesday, the 2nd of March, A. D. 1166. With this sitting commences the second action. All the royal family and the great officers of the household attended on the emperor, who presided: there were present three patriarchs and thirty-nine bishops. After the question had been proposed by the emperor, the bishops, one by one, gave their opinions in favor of the text applying to the inferiority of the human nature, no less than to the procession of the divine. Many expressly give, as their only reason, the consent of the Fathers. The third action is taken up with subscribing the dogmatical decree of the council; the emperor signing first, and giving his reasons with all the exactness of phrase which could satisfy the most punctilious divine. In the fourth, the canons pronouncing anathema against all impugners, and eternal memory to the maintainers of the true faith, were voted. The fifth was occupied in drawing up a more explicit declaration of faith, as that before subscribed had not been considered satisfactory by all; and, in the sixth, those who labored under suspicion of heterodoxy, made open declaration of their belief. John Pantechnes, imperial οκευοφύλαξ, and the bishops of Myræ, Larissa, Rhodes, Adrianople, Neopatræ, Thebes, and Maronea, went through this important ordeal. A new and very long decree was then drawn up, in consequence of additional objections, and a new canon added, which deserves to be cited: "Whoso rejecteth the

* Page 37.

words of the holy Fathers spoken in confirmation of the true doctrines of God's Church, ... likewise whoso refuseth the acts of general councils, to wit, the fourth and sixth; unto him be anathema."* The seventh action was entirely occupied with receiving the imperial edict for the promulgation of the acts: but the eighth presents a scene of deeper interest.

It begins solemnly by declaring, that there is a time for being silent, and a time for speaking. George, metropolitan of Nice, had been refractory to the decrees of the synod, and had incurred its penalties. But he had now repented, and with many tears implored the emperor's clemency. He interceded with the council, in mitigation of the canonical penance; and whereas this was deposition, the disobedient prelate was only sentenced to a suspension from his office for two years. For several hours he lay prostrate, bathing the ground with his tears, and begging further mercy; his brethren relented, and the presiding patriarch reduced the term of punishment to only one year. The synod then closed, after invoking every blessing upon the emperor. At the end of the volume are the autograph signatures of the bishops.

It is hardly necessary to repeat the circumstances which make these acts a valuable document to Catholics. 1. Though neither of the parties, whose conflicting opinions were here examined, for a moment leaned to Arianism, yet the text ex-

* Page 75.

amined is one of great importance in the controversy with these sectaries; we here have several new authorities for ascertaining its interpretation. 2. The rule of Faith is laid down by this synod to be the same in the Greek Church, as is held in the Catholic, especially in the dogmatical explanation of texts; that is, the consent of the Fathers, or the traditional word of God. 3. The judges who are to apply this rule, and pronounce on its results, are the same as we acknowledge,—the pastors of the Church. 4. The power of enforcing dogmatical decisions by ecclesiastical censures and penalties, is clearly claimed, and exercised.

But, in addition to the importance and interest of these acts in general, their value is much enhanced by their having preserved for us a passage of St. Amphilochius, bearing upon the important Catholic dogma of the Eucharist. As this great Father is not so well known as many of his contemporaries, it may be useful to give a few of their testimonies to his merit.

St. Amphilochius was bishop of Iconium, in Lycaonia, during the reign of Theodosius. Theodoret relates an anecdote of him, which shows his intrepidity in defending the faith against the Arians. In an audience of the emperor, he entreated him to forbid Arian conventicles within cities. Theodosius, considering the measure harsh, declined complying with his request. The holy bishop retired; but some time after asked another audience. It was granted; and as he approached

the emperor, and saluted him, he took no notice of his son Arcadius, who had just been named Augustus. The emperor, thinking this an oversight, desired him to return and kiss his son. Amphilochius replied, that it was enough to have honored *him*. Theodosius was highly incensed, when the bishop exclaimed: "See, O emperor, how you resent any insult to your son; do you think, then, that the Ruler of the Universe will less resent the blasphemies and insults uttered against His Son?"* Among the epistles of St. Basil are several addressed to St. Amphilochius. In one place he calls him his brother, dear to him and esteemed above all others:† in another he says he admires his eagerness to learn, and at the same time his humility, which makes him apply for knowledge to those whom he is fit to teach.‡ St. Gregory Nazianzen calls him "the spotless pontiff, the messenger of truth, and his delight."§ St. Jerome classes him with the two fathers just quoted, as their equal in sacred and profane learn-

* Theod. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. xvi. tom. iii. p. 214, ed. Reading. This anecdote, and the belief of the Greek Church that this saint was named bishop by angels in a vision (see the Greek *Menol.* of the emperor Basil, October 19, p. i. p. 127, ed. Urbin. 1727), have been wrought up at great length into his acts, given by Metaphrastes. See these ap. Combefis, inf. cit. p. 228, seqq.

† De Spiritu S. c. i. tom. iii. p. 1, ed Maur. 1730. This treatise is, in fact, dedicated by St. Basil to St. Amphilochius.

‡ Epist. cxcix. ib. p. 290.

§ Carm. paræuet. ad Olympiad. Virg. v. 102, tom. ii. p. 134. Paris, 1611. (See the Roman Martyrol. November 23.)

ing;* and tells us he had lately heard him read his work on the Holy Ghost.†

These high encomiums from "those who themselves are praised" must excite a desire to know the belief of this Father upon points of modern controversy; and, though the Catholic can always look forward tranquilly to the discovery of any new ecclesiastical writer, well assured that whoever was the friend of the Gregorys, the Basils, and the Jeromes, must have believed even as they did, yet he must for this very reason feel his heart throb with anxious expectation, as he turns over the pages of any newly-discovered Father. Unfortunately most of the works of St. Amphilochius have perished. Father Combefis, who published them with those of St. Methodius and Andrew of Crete,‡ was only able to recover a few sermons, an epistle in verse, and some mutilated fragments preserved by other writers. Among these is a passage from a sermon upon the very text discussed in our council, preserved by Theodoret.§ This was so exactly to the purpose of the synod, that it could not fail to be quoted in its acts. In fact, we find it repeated,‖ but fortunately at much

* Epist. lxx. ad Magnum Orat. tom. i. p. 427, ed. Vallars

† De Viris illustrib. c. cxxxiii. tom. ii. p. 938.

‡ SS. Patrum Amphilochii, Methodii et Andreæ Cretens. Opera omnia; Paris, 1644. Reprinted with improvements in Gallandus's Biblioth. Pat. tom. vi. Ven. 1770, pp. 463, seqq.

§ Ed. Combefis, p. 143, Bib. Pat. p. 502. This part of the sermon is in Theodoret, Dialog. 1. tom. iv. p. 43. Paris, 1642.

‖ Pp. 9, 10, but under the title of sermon against the Arians.

greater length; as the portion now first published, contains an expression of great importance.

St. Amphilochius, wishing to explain in what manner Jesus Christ was at once equal and inferior to the Father, gives a great number of antithetic actions of his life, characteristic of the various operations of his twofold nature. These are his words:—

"The Father, therefore, is greater than he who goeth unto him, not greater than he who is always in him. And that I may speak compendiously; He (the Father) is greater, and yet equal: greater than he who asked, 'How many loaves have ye?'* equal to him who satisfied the whole multitude with five loaves; greater than he who asked, 'Where have ye laid Lazarus?' equal to him who raised Lazarus by his word; greater than he who said, 'Who toucheth me?' equal to him who dried up the inexhaustible flux of the hæmorrhoissa; greater than he who slumbered in the vessel, equal to him who chid the sea; greater than he who was judged by Pilate, equal to him who freeth the world from judgment; greater than he who was buffeted, and was crucified with thieves, equal to him who justified the thief free-cost; greater than he who was stripped of his raiment,

* It is singular that this member of the sentence is omitted in the printed Greek, but is in the Latin version below. This shows that the omission is a typographical error. The sense likewise demonstrates the necessity of such a member for the antithesis.

equal to him who clothes the soul; greater than he to whom vinegar was given to drink, *equal to him who giveth us his own blood to drink;* greater than he whose temple was dissolved, equal to him who, after its dissolution, raised up his own temple; greater than the former, equal to the latter."

In presenting this text for the first time to the attention of theologians, and, I may almost say, of the public, I may be allowed to offer a few remarks. 1. It will be seen at first sight, that St. Amphilochius places at one side of his parallel those actions of our Divine Saviour which demonstrate His equality with the Father, by proving his omnipotence. Although there was always this wide distinction between the miracles of our Saviour and those of His disciples, that they only professed to act as His ministers and deputies, and through the power of His Name, whereas He boldly professed to do wonders in His own right; yet could the recital of ordinary miracles have been answered by the Arians, by comparing them with similar ones wrought by the apostles, who noways claimed thereupon any divine attributes. St. Amphilochius, therefore, is careful to give, rising as it were to a climax, such instances as could defy all comparison, and demonstrate the possession of omnipotence. Christ, he says, is shown to be equal to the Father, "*in freeing the world from judgment, in justifying the good thief free-cost, in clothing the soul with grace, in raising himself from the*

dead."* No one will doubt that these are the strongest illustrations of claim to equality with the Father, which could have been drawn from His sacred life.

2ndly. It is among these miracles of the highest order, among these incontrovertible proofs of our Saviour's omnipotence, that St. Amphilochius places the institution of the B. Eucharist: "He [the Father] is equal to him who GIVETH US HIS OWN BLOOD TO DRINK." St. Amphilochius therefore supposes a miracle, and a miracle of the most stupendous sort, in the B. Sacrament. Did he then believe it to be a mere symbol? But the institution of a symbol requires no claim to omnipotence. Whoever aggregates disciples, or forms a school, may institute symbols. The Pythagoreans and the Egyptian priests had many; the Freemasons and Orangemen have them; yet, in all this, there is no miracle. The sign of the cross is doubtless a most precious and expressive symbol of our Saviour's passion; yet whoever instituted it did not thereby prove or show himself equal to the Father. It is only by his maintaining here the real presence of the Blood of Christ on the Altar, that we can

* This argument from the Resurrection is very strongly put by St. Amphilochius, in his eloquent sermon on that subject.—Bib. Pat. ubi sup. p. 487. Indeed, the few remains which we possess of his works, fully establish his claim to the high order in which he is classed by St. Jerome. His eloquence is deep and fervid, and breathes an earnest and impressive piety.

find any coherence and sense in the reasoning of this great teacher.

3rdly. St. Amphilochius uses the phrase τὸ οἰκεῖον αἷμα, *his own proper blood*. That such is the proper meaning of the phrase will appear from another member of the sentence, where he says, "equal to him who raised up *His own temple*," that is, his body; where the words are, τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐγείραντος ναόν. Here the force of the argument rests almost entirely on the word οἰκεῖον, the miracle consists in Christ raising *His own body;* so likewise does this parallelism of phrase throw emphasis on the same adjective in our member of the sentence; and the miracle equally consists in His "giving us *His own blood* to drink." This reasoning entirely excludes the Protestant doctrine.

4thly. The whole of St. Amphilochius's reasoning is rendered still more striking by the peculiar turn of his sentence. For he does not say through it that Christ is equal to the Father, but that the Father is equal to Christ. It is true, that the necessity of keeping a parallel construction to the text, "The Father is greater," drove him to this unusual form, which simply establishes the perfect equality of the two divine persons. Yet it cannot fail to strike the reader as giving greater energy to his reasoning, and obliging him to be more careful in selecting real and sound demonstrations of that equality.

5thly. But there yet remains an important illustration of this text to be made. Should any

of my readers turn over to the passage of St. Amphilochius in the publication of Monsignor Mai, he will at once perceive that I have differed from him in my translation of the words on which I have hitherto been commenting; and, as my version is weaker, and seems to give up a strong theological position which that learned scholar has taken, I owe it both to sincerity and to myself, to vindicate the rendering which I have offered. The words of the text are, *ἴσος τοῦ τὸ οἰκεῖον οἰνοχοοῦντος αἷμα.* The learned editor has translated these words by, "æqualis ei qui proprium sanguinem *ex vino facit;*" and has added in a note that here we have a valuable testimony in favor of Transubstantiation.* This is indeed true to a certain extent, but not in the manner which his version implies, a clear explicit declaration of a change. But it is not through a captious desire of finding fault that I enter on a philological examination of these words, nor even because I think such a criticism had better come from a friend than an enemy; but partly from love of truth, partly from fear that any adversary, deceived in the same manner, but with a totally different spirit from the editor, should argue that the composition of the verb modified its meaning, and that *οἰνοχοεῖν* suggests the idea of wine being present in the Eucharist.

It is indeed true, that this verb in its primary signification means to *pour out*, or, *minister*,

* Page 10.

wine: in which sense, the only one of the lexicons, it often occurs in Homer, and other ancient writers, as Odys. δ′ 233.

Κέλευσέ τε οἰνοχοῆσαι.*

But it is no less certain that it became a term of more general acceptation, and was used in the simple sense of *propinare, to give to drink at a feast.* Thus we have in the same poet:—

Αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοισι Θεοῖς ἐνδέξια πᾶσιν
ΟΙ′ΝΟΧΟ′ΕΙ γλυκὺ ΝΕ′ΚΤΑΡ.†

And again in the fourth book:—

—— Μετὰ δέ σφισι πότνια Ἥβη
ΝΕ′ΚΤΑΡ ′ΕΩΝΟΧΟ′ΕΙ.‡

The commentary of Eustathius upon these passages will put this matter beyond the reach of controversy. Upon the first he says, "You must know, that οἰνοχοεῖν is not properly said of nectar, but only of wine; but it is applied *through necessity* to nectar also, as will be declared in the third book; *because there was no more dignified convivial term at the poet's command.* There are other similar expressions; as, ἐχειρονόμησε τοῖς σκέλεσι."§

* See also O′ 322; Iliad, β′ 127, et al.

† Il. ά 597. ‡ Ib. δ′ 3.

§ Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ οἰνοχοεῖν οὐ κυριολεκτεῖται ἐπὶ τοῦ νέκταρος, ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴνου τέθειται δὲ κατ' ἀνάγκην καὶ ἐπὶ νέκταρος, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ γ′ ῥαψῳδίᾳ φανήσεται, διὰ τὸ μὴ εὐπορεῖν τὸν Ποιητὴν σεμνοτέρας συμποσιακῆς λέξεως. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἑτεδά τινα τοιαῦτα, οἷον καὶ τὸ ἐχειρονόμησε τοῖς σκέλεσι. Comment. tom. i. p. 302, ed. Pol. Flor. 1730. He continues to comment on the word for several pages, observing that nectar is a liquid nourishment,

The reference to the third book is perhaps a mistake for the commentary which he gives upon this word, in illustrating the passage, which I have quoted from the fourth; as there is not a word, in the commentary on the third book, upon this expression. These are his words. "But see how he applies improperly to nectar the word *οἰνοχοεῖν*, as was more fully explained in the commentary on the first book; but he uses it now also simply as a convivial word; as if one should say, *he gave him nectar to drink, as if it were wine.*"*

We have another passage, which further confirms these observations. This is a verse of Sappho, preserved by Athenæus. Speaking of the gods, whose drink was certainly not wine she says,—

Καδδ' ἀμβροσίας μὲν κρατὴρ ἐκέκρατο
Ἑρμᾶς δὲ ἔλων ὅλπιν θεοῖς οἰνοχόησε.†

I am far from wishing to embark upon the sea of critical and philological controversy to which

and consequently can be said *οἰνοχοεῖσθαι*, p. 304. He brings several other examples of similar phrases; as, *ᾠκοδόμησε πόλιν*. In fact, we have in Thucydides *τὰ τείχη οἰκοδομησαμένων*.—Hist. lib. vii. p. 451, ed. Wetst; again, p. 563, lib. viii. We may compare, too, the word *πολιορκέω*: thus we have in Dionysius of Halicarnassus *πολιορκεῖν τὸ φρούριον*.—Antiq. lib. ix. c. xviii. p. 552, ed. Oxon. 1704.

* Ὅρα δὲ, ὅπως, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἁραψῳδιᾳ πλατύτερον ἐρρήθη, ἐπὶ νέκταρος οὐκ εἰκαίρως εἶπε τὸ οἰνοχοεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἁπλῶς καὶ νῦν, ὡς λέξιν συμποσιακὴν ὡς εἴ τις εἴποι ἐδίδου νέκταρ πιεῖν οἷα τινα οἶνον.—Tom. iii. p. 962.

† Deipnosaph. lib. x. tom. iv. p. 55 ed. Schweigh.

these verses may give rise. I must, however remark—1st, that ambrosia here signifies the *drink* of the gods, or nectar. Athenæus himself quotes the verse in another place, preserved in his Epitome, to prove that ambrosia is put for the beverage, as nectar is by Anaxandrides and Aleman for the food, of the gods.* Whence Suidas says, *νέκταρ καὶ τὸ βρῶμα τῶν Θεῶν.*† 2ndly, that no difficulty can be raised from the use of the extraordinary word *ἔρπιν*, which occurs in another quotation, instead of *ὄλπιν*, and which Casaubon wished to introduce here. Nothing can be more true than what he proves from Eustathius and Lycophron, that *ἔρπις*, or rather, as in Coptic, EPII, did really mean in Egyptian *wine;* for Champollion and Rosellini have found it in hieroglyphics.‡ Granting, however, this, on which the learned Schweig-

* Epitome, lib. ii. tom. i. p. 148.

† Tom. ii. p. 605, ed. Kust.

‡ Champollion, Lettres à M. le Duc de Blacas, relatives au Musée royal de Turin. Prem. Lettre, Paris, 1824, p. 37. He is speaking of the representations on Egyptian monuments of flasks painted red up to a certain height to represent the liquor. In a prayer, supposed by Rosellini to be directed to Athyr, upon a sepulchral monument in the gallery of Florence, the goddess is requested to give the defunct wine, milk, etc. Both are represented by vases with the names of their respective contents written in hieroglyphics round them. Round the first are the *feather*, *mouth*, and the *square*, the phonetic signs of the letters EPII. See the engraving in Rosellini's work, entitled Di un Basso-rilievo Egiziano della I. e R. Galleria di Firenze, ib. 1826, and the illustration, p. 40.

hauser seems to wish to cast a doubt, the argument of this learned critic appears to leave no doubt that ὅλπιν, and not ἔρπιν, is the true reading; so that the passage in the Epitome to the second book, must rather be corrected from the quotation in the tenth.* Thus all mention of *wine* is excluded from the text. It must be surely superfluous to prove that the beverage of Olympus had nothing in common with the juice of the grape.

These quotations, especially the express testimonies of Eustathius, sufficiently establish the signification, I have attributed to the verb αἰνοχοεῖν, of *giving to drink*, especially in a solemn manner as was done by the οἰνοχόος at a feast. As Eustathius observes of Homer, St. Amphilochius could have used a more dignified word to express the sacred and awful draught which our Saviour presents us at the altar. At the same time all idea of the existence of wine in the chalice is removed; at least no Protestant controvertist can argue, from the verb selected, that St. Amphilochius wished to insinuate its being still there.

* This argument is chiefly grounded on the use of the participle ἑλών, *capiens*, which requires after it the name of some vessel, as ὅλπιν, not of a liquor, which would rather have been preceded by ἀφύων, *hauriens*, or some such word. Animadversiones in Athen. Argentor. 1804, tom. v. p. 375.

ROME, *September*, 1833.

ON THE

WRITINGS OF ST. EPHREM.

WITH EXAMPLES FROM THE ORIGINAL.

[From the *Catholic Magazine.*]

St. Ephrem is an example of a phenomenon not uncommon in the history of literature.* Like Moses in Hebrew, Homer in Greek, Mohammed in Arabic, Chaucer in English, Dante and Boccaccio in Italian, he is at once the earliest, and the purest, author preserved to us from the ancient learning of Syria. From his age, the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, the language and learning of his country improved no more; his writings have been considered the model of elegance by all later authors. And yet hardly a fragment survives to show us how the language had gradually reached such a degree of elegance and perfection. By his countrymen he is styled *the prophet of the Syrians, the harp of the Holy Ghost, the eloquent mouth, the column of the Church.* He has been called

* The works of this father, in Syriac and Greek, were first published complete in six volumes, folio, by P. Ambarach (Benedictus), a Maronite Jesuit; Rome, 1737, seqq.

too, the *Syriac Chrysostom*. It may be interesting to our readers to know what entitled him to the honorable appellations. They may indeed read his life in Alban Butler's collection; but the extracts there given from his writings can convey but a faint idea of his elevated, and often sublime, bursts of *poetic* eloquence. We have used this term, because, extraordinary as it may appear, what are commonly considered the Sermons of St. Ephrem, are all metrical compositions.

The first persons who introduced the alluring charms of versification into polemic or doctrinal compositions, in the Syriac Church, were the celebrated Gnostics, Bardesanes and his son Harmonius.* It is against these heresiarchs and their followers, that most of St. Ephrem's writings are directed; and so full is his confutation of their errors, that the entire system of their doctrines may be collected from his works. Some years ago, it was our intention to undertake this task, but we abandoned it upon reading the learged and interesting tract of Augustus Hahn upon the subject.† St. Ephrem, seeing how men's minds were allured, by the smooth verses of those false men, to read and remember their words, resolved to employ the same weapons; and accordingly drew up his confutations in verse, sometimes employing the metre

* See S. Ephr. Opp. tom. ii. p. 558; and his Acts, prefixed to the second volume, p. 51.

† Bardesanes Gnosticus Syrorum, primus hymnologus. Lip. 1819.

of Bardesanes himself, which was pentasyllabic,* oftener another made up of seven syllables, which is generally called, by the Syrians, the metre of St. Ephrem.† It might be doubted whether these discourses were ever delivered to the people; but passages may be quoted from them to show that they were. Certainly, the stream of rich allegory, which winds through many of them, sometimes flowing through a succession of beautifully connected imagery, then suddenly broken by an abrupt transition, the bold figures of speech, and the choice of lofty words, and the close brevity of his reasoning, seem hardly adapted for popular addresses. But then we must remember, that we are men of another age, and land, and speech, and thought; that it has been well remarked by an able writer, that, in the East, eloquence has never placed boundaries between its territories and those of poetry,‡ which, in western countries, has been done. And, indeed, we have many other metrical discourses, besides those of St. Ephrem, of which there seems no cause to doubt, but that they were

* We have seventeen discourses of St. Ephrem in this measure, among those against the *Searchers*, ending with the sixty-fifth, tom. iii. p. 128, where a note, in the original, mentions this circumstance.

† This is frequently met in manuscripts, prefixed to poems; as in Cod. Vat. (Syr.) cliii., is an anonymous poem on the seven climates: ܒܥܫܐ ܕܡܕܒ ܐܚܕܐ (*B'nisho d'mor Ephrem*), in the measure of St. Ephrem.

‡ Michælis in his Preface to Lowth's Prælectiones, reprinted in the Oxford edition, 1810, vol. ii.

delivered in speech. These in Syriac are called *mimre.*

Among the heretics, whom this great saint attacked with most zeal, was a branch of the Aëtians, or Eunomians, whom he calls *Botzooie*, that is, *Searchers*, as men who pretended to dive into the mysteries of faith, and, by unaided reason, to fathom and understand them. Against these men he composed eighty-seven sermons. The seven last of these are more particularly called *On the Pearl*, that is, on Faith, which is allegorically spoken of in them, under this emblem. We present our readers with a translation of the first of these, from the original; for the Latin version of these discourses is often very defective, owing to the conciseness and obscurity of their style. Many expressions we have been obliged to paraphrase, otherwise they could not have been understood; and thereby the strength of the original has, no doubt, been weakened.

"*First sermon of St. Ephrem on the Pearl.*"*

"On a certain occasion, my brethren, a pearl came into my possession. In it I saw kingly emblems, images and types of the Divine Majesty: and therein too was a fountain, whence I drank the mysteries of the Son of God. I placed it, my brethren, upon the palm of my hand, that so I might

* In his Syriac works, tom. iii. p. 150. (Since this was printed, the Rev. J. B. Morris has published a volume of translations from St. Ephrem, among which is one of this very sermon. The difference of rendering is on the whole very trifling.)

more curiously note it. I examined it on one side, but it had faces on all its sides,—the image of God's Son, who is incomprehensible, because He is all light. In this its clearness I contemplated that serene One who is never overcast; by its purity the great type of our Lord's body was expressed; and in its indivisibility I saw the indivisibility of truth. Therein too could I discern its own pure offspring, the Church, in whose midst was the Son, and She who bare him, whose figure is the cloud [of Elias,] whose emblem is the heavens, from whom shone forth the beautiful splendor. I saw there represented the trophies of His victories and His crownings; I beheld all His benefits and efficacy, whether hidden or manifest.

"I prized myself more upon this pearl than if it had been the Ark of the Covenant, so as to be lost in admiration. I beheld in it bowers not shaded, for it was a draught of light, vocal types without a tongue, mysterious words without lips, a silent lyre, which, without any voice, did utter tuneful notes.—The indistinct sound of a trumpet, and the murmuring of thunder! 'Presume not! Let alone that which is hidden, hold that which has been declared!' Again, I saw, amid serenity, rain; a fountain for the ears, as if dropping from clouds of interpretation. And as the manna did, by its varied tastes supply for the people [of Israel] the place of all other food, so did this pearl stand me, instead of books, and of the reading and explanation thereof. And, if I would ask whether there yet remain other mysteries, it had no mouth that I should hear from it; neither had it ears, that it should hear me; it had no senses, whereby I might learn new ideas from it.

"At length it addressed me, and said, 'I am a daughter of the immeasurable sea; and from that ocean, whence I ascended, cometh the rich treasure of mysteries which is in my bosom. Fathom the sea, but think not to fathom the Lord of the sea. I saw the divers who descended after me with fear; quickly from the depths they returned to the shore. Even for a short time they could not bear it; who can persevere in investigating the abyss of the Divinity?'

"The waves of the Son of God are laden with benefits,

but yet are full of peril. Have you not seen how the billows of the sea do dash in pieces the bark, which struggled against them; but so that if it submit and resist not, then shall it be saved? In the sea were the Egyptians drowned, although they did not scrutinize; and, without this investigation, even on dry land, were the Israelites swallowed up: Where then are you safe? By fire [in like manner] the Sodomites were licked up; and how then can you resist?* At the groans [of the Egyptians] even the fishes of the ocean were moved, and the Leviathans thereof. Verily, ye must have a heart of stone, to read these things and yet forget them. Great is your danger, for long hath justice been silent.

"Curiosity is mingled with your thanksgiving, and which shall most prevail [with God?] Praise and vain inquiry rise together like incense from your lips, and which shall He regard? Prayer and foolish research proceed from one mouth, and to which shall He attend?—For three days was Jonah an inhabitant of the abyss; the monsters in the depths thereof were moved, [saying,] 'Who shall flee from God?' Jonas only fled [from Him,] but ye presume to search into Him."

St. Ephrem was scarcely less admired by the Greek Church, than by that of his own country. He was bound by strictest friendship with the great St. Basil, and we have a glowing discourse in his praise, by St. Gregory of Nyssa. Hence, it is no wonder that his writings should early have been translated into the Greek language. The collection of his works contains three folio volumes of these versions, edited by Joseph Assemani. It is chiefly from these that extracts have been trans-

* Our saint selects examples of God's judgment exercised upon his enemies by the different elements, thereby to show, that for such is no security, and then returns to that of the Egyptians, which he first mentioned.

is chiefly from these that extracts have been translated into modern languages. In the third volume of these Greek translations are many prayers, remarkable for the warm and animated feelings and expressions of devotion which they contain. None, however, are so striking as those addressed to the Blessed Virgin. If the prayer-books of modern Catholics have been ransacked to prove that divine honor is paid to this queen of saints, and if the most innocent expressions, well understood by us all, have been deemed sufficient argument against us, I fear our saint, of whom St. Gregory of Nyssa hath said such glorious things, must fain help us to bear the burthen of modern condemnation. For he goes far beyond all which modern tongue would venture to utter, in addressing its supplications to her. And since we have been already once charged solemnly, by a grave author, and in a large book,* with having falsified the doctrines of the Syriac Church, for the purpose of vindicating ours, we will translate a few expressions from one of these prayers, so to justify what we have said. It opens thus: "In thee, Patroness, and *Mediatrix* with God, who was born from thee,† the human race, O Mother of God, placeth its joy; and ever is dependent upon thy patronage; and, in thee alone, hath refuge and defence,

* We allude to a note in the learned Professor Lee's Prolegomena to Bagster's Polyglott Bible.

† Μεσίτην πρὸς τὸν ἐκ σοῦ τεχθέντα Θεὸν. This prayer occurs in his Greek works, tom. iii. p. 532.

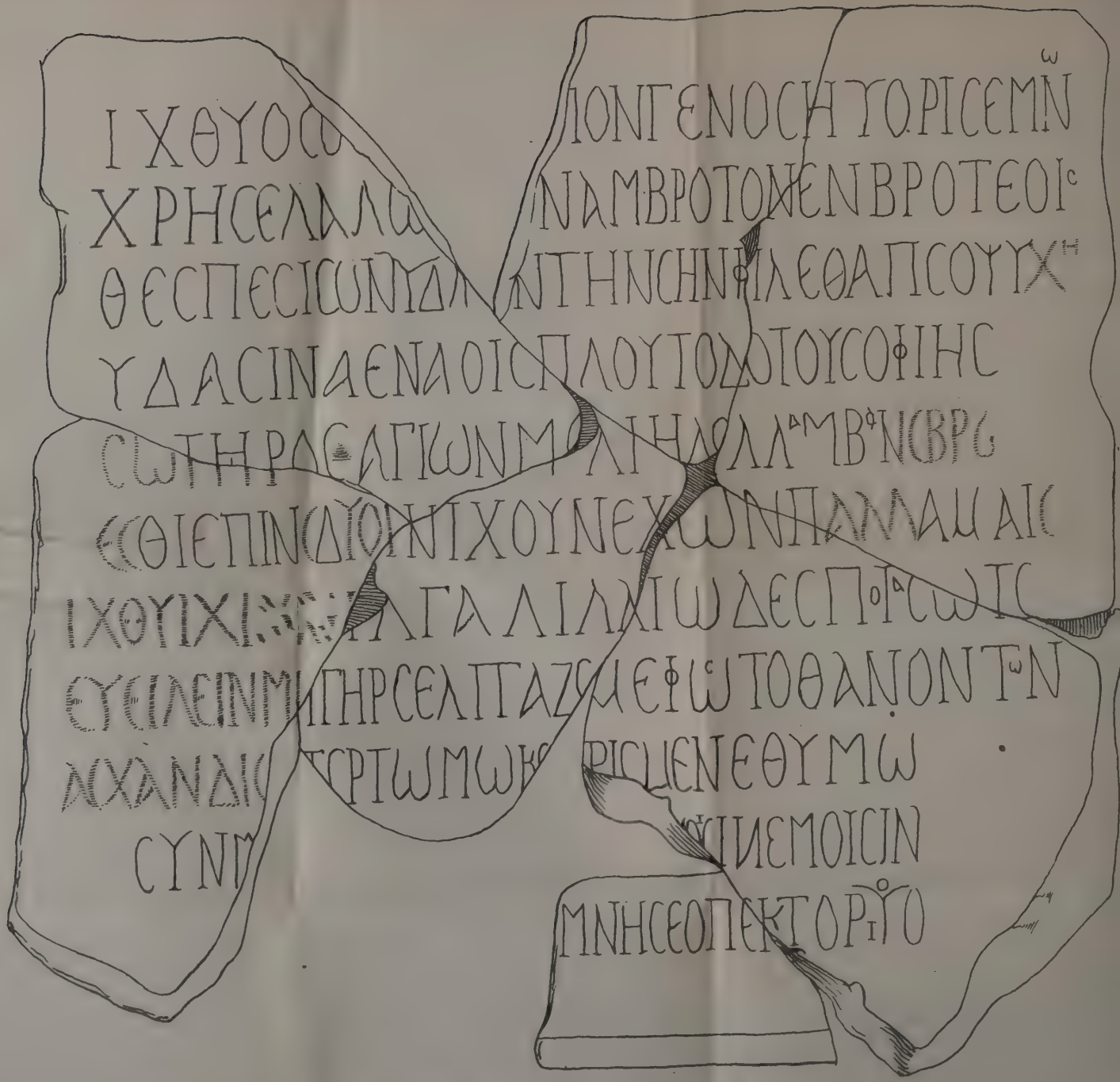
who hast full confidence in Him. Behold, I also draw nigh to thee, with a fervent soul, not having courage to approach thy Son, but imploring that, through thy intercession (*μεσιτείας*) I may obtain salvation. Despise not, then, thy servant, who placeth all his hopes in thee, after God; reject him not, placed in grievous danger, and oppressed with many griefs; but thou, who art compassionate, and the mother of a merciful God, have mercy upon thy servant, free me from fatal concupiscence, etc." In the course of this prayer, our B. Lady is called, "the precious vision of the prophets, the clearest fulfilment of all prophecy, the eloquent mouth of the apostles, the strength of kings, the boast of the priesthood, the forgiveness of sins, the propitiation of the just Judge, the rise of the fallen, the redemption from sins, etc." In another prayer, we meet the following words, addressed to the same ever-glorious Virgin: "After the Trinity [thou art] mistress of all; after the Paraclete another paraclete; after the Mediator, mediatrix of the whole world."* Surely this is more than enough to prove, that if this glory of the Syriac Church, this friend of the great St. Basil, had lived in our times, he would not have been allowed to officiate in the English Church, as deacon, for he never received higher ordination, but would have been obliged to retire to some humble chapel,

* *Ἡ μετὰ τὴν Τριάδα παντῶν δέσποινα, ἡ μετὰ τὸν Παράκλητον ἄλλος παράκλητος, καὶ μετὰ τὸν Μεσίτην μεσίτρις κοσμοῦ παντὸς.*—P. 528.

if he wished to discharge his sacred functions; where he should find men who fear not, in fulfilment of holy prophecy, to place the title of Blessed before the name of God's mother, and address her in suppliant prayer, without fear of offending her Son.

On the commentaries of St. Ephrem we might say much; but perhaps it would not be interesting to many. On their value in critical questions, regarding the Syriac version, the reader may consult a curious and erudite essay by Cesar Lengerke;* whom, however, we approve not in all things. When we perused these commentaries we often perceived a variety of style, both in the interpretation itself, and in the language, which betrayed sometimes a later age, and we felt no difficulty in attributing such parts to James of Edessa. However, to be more certain, we consulted the manuscript, from which the Roman edition was made, and found our conjecture verified; as some parts, which are printed as St. Ephrem's, do really belong to the other writer, whom we have just named. But this would be matter beseeming a more elaborate inquiry.

* Commentatio critica de Ephræmo Syro S. S. interprete. Halis, Sax. 1828.



Christian Inscription found at Autun.

ACCOUNT

OF A RECENTLY DISCOVERED

CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTION.

[From the *Dublin Review* for Nov., 1840.]

ART. IX.—*Epigramma Greco-Christiano de' primi secoli, etc.—Greek-Christian Epigram of the first centuries, lately found near the ancient Augustodunum, now Autun, in France; restored where necessary, and commented on by Father John P. Secchi, of the Society of Jesus.* Rome 1840.

Two words of preface must keep our readers waiting, before we enter upon the interesting little work before us.

The first regards the science of which it treats. The Christian archæology of the earliest centuries is a branch of sacred study, hardly cultivated, as yet, out of Italy, and having its seat and centre in eternal Rome. Even whatever the Mabillons and Montfaucons may have done for it, must be considered as only emanations from that source. This is quite reasonable. Geology could not have sprung up in the midst of the Sahara, where one stratum of unfathomable, as well as immeasurable sand, presents no variety of physical features; and

no more could the study of primeval Christian monuments have arisen, or have been cultivated, where they existed not to attract attention, and to furnish materials for application. Italy possesses, in almost every part, some remnants of the earliest Christian ages. Verona is rich in inscriptions; Milan has its Ambrosian monuments; Brescia contains many curious objects. Ravenna is a perfect Christian museum; city and suburbs are full of splendid edifices of the first Christian ages, churches erected or embellished by Justinian, Valentinian, or Galla Placidia. The domestic chapel, built by St. Peter Chrysologus, still serves without any essential alteration, his worthy successor the present saintly archbishop; and the beautiful frescoes of Giotto have faded away, or have been peeled off by damp, from the church of *Sta. Maria in Porto fuori;* while the mosaics of double their age, in the apsis of the neighboring basilica of *St. Apollinare in Classe*, display as yet almost their original freshness. But all the monumental riches of these, and all other Italian cities together, are poor, compared with what Rome alone contains in her ancient walls, and suburban territory. Not a link is wanting in her series. She begins with the altar of the apostle St. Peter, enshrined in the high altar of St. John Lateran, with his chair and his very ashes—the glory of the Vatican, with the prisons of himself and his brother apostle Paul, and with the places of their martyrdom. From these she conducts

the devout pilgrim through the mazes of catacombs and crypts, the dormitories of saints, the chambers of martyred pontiffs; she points out to him the altars mixed with tombs, the paintings that conceal sepulchres, the baptisteries still fed by pure subterranean streams,* all the evidences of that mixture of joy and of sorrow, of resignation and anxiety, of life and death in the same spot, which characterizes so powerfully to the mind, and to the feelings, that early state of persecution, in which the Catholic Church was so long kept. Then her monuments begin to creep above ground; her *confessions*, or tombs of martyrs (yea, such martyrs as Laurence or Agnes), communicate at once below with the catacombs, of which they are a part, and above with the splendid churches that overshadow them. Through these venerable entrances we gain the upper sphere, and pass, by a natural transition, from chapels to churches, from catacombs to basilicas. We stay not now to draw comfort from this contrast, as applied to ourselves at this moment. We fancy we could show many symptoms of a similar transition, from

* As in the cemetery of Pontianus, on the Via Portuensis, a road particularly dear to us. Over the square baptistery, cut out of the rock, and filled with beautiful running water, deep enough for immersion, is a painting of our Lord's baptism. Beside it is a painting of SS. Abdon and Sennen, whose bodies are, or were, here. See an interesting account of the discovery of this catacomb by the discoverer himself, Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 125; or by Arinqhi, *Roma Subterranea*, tom. i. p. 375.

the chapel to the church, in our present sacred edifices, and a not dissimilar one from by-lanes to public streets; nay, if we are rightly informed, Birmingham, at this moment, presents an example of a magnificent church springing over one low sunk in the ground, and now forming its crypt.* But we pass by these reflections now, to proceed with our antiquarian walk. The name of Constantine, recorded as the founder of many Roman basilicas, gives us the earliest possible date for the erection of great Christian edifices, and assures us of the next step in our monumental chronology of ancient Christianity. True it unfortunately is, that Vandals, ancient and modern, whether wielding the sword or the compasses, whether destroying or repairing, have removed much, and left comparatively little, of what we revere; but still the granite columns or the porphyry wainscoting, the pavement, or the outer walls remain; and when all has been covered and whitewashed, the site, with its secure tradition, the shrine, with its certain relics, remain unchanged, to carry back the feeling mind to the age in which the trenches for the foundations of the buildings were opened by an imperial hand; or the sacred deposit laid beneath its altar, by a saintly pontiff. After this period, the work of tracing out the visitor's course becomes too complicated for us to undertake it. Every *region* of the city has its claims upon his next attention;

* [The cathedral of St. Chad, then in course of erection.]

each gate invites him—not unallured by the smiling hills that win him forward—to make a pilgrimage of every excursion, and pause on his way at one or more of the hallowed spots, which a large church, or a chapel, or a simple inscription by the road-side, recommends to his devout attention.

While our pen, almost unguided, has been rapidly tracing these paragraphs, our minds have been wandering over the scenes they record. We have revisited them all in spirit, and many more which we have not here set down. We have, in the last few minutes, threaded many a subterranean labyrinth with no other clue than memory; stopping here at an angle where the wall of sand is cut away, to admit the pale sepulchral lamp, which lighted the diverging corridors; peeping into half-opened tombs, in which every bone yet lies in its place, unremoved, because wanting any token of martyrdom. We have read the names of saints beside their effigies painted in the little chapels—the squares of these subterranean streets. We have almost leapt from sanctuary to sanctuary, with that rapidity, which the imagination itself can only have, when the affections lend it wings; have recalled to our minds the exact forms, the nicely-distinguishing features of each, their specific treasures of art and of holiness; we have peopled them for their festival-days, we have worshipped in them in twilight solitude; and we now awake from our trance, to apologize to our

readers for having imagined that we could draw others after us as fast as we can run ourselves, over a ground which it requires years of familiar and loving intercourse to know as it deserves; years of that intercourse which makes the very stones of a standing temple as dear as were the dispersed ones of Sion's sanctuary to the Israelite, and which gives us friendship for unspeaking forms. It will be, at least, allowed to be perfectly natural, that such persons as have once conceived these feelings and have nourished them, will soon turn their intelligence in the same direction as their hearts; and, not content with admiring, will be anxious to understand. Hence it was not long after the revival of good letters, before works of great learning were composed, to illustrate the early Christian monuments of Rome. The names of Aringhi, Bottari, Bosio, Boldetti, Marangoni, Ciampini, and many others of the same class, are well known to the lovers of these interesting pursuits. We believe Rome to be the only city which, in its theological schools, has a chair of Christian archæology, or has a museum, like that of the Vatican library, exclusively devoted to it.

The pontificate of Benedict XIV. was particularly favorable to the prosecution of this study That great pontiff, himself well versed in it, encouraged the researches of other learned men; and though, unfortunately, the bad taste which prevailed in his time (though not quite so bad as in the period immediately preceding), has caused his

name and arms to stand upon ancient buildings, sadly modernized, he well knew how to appreciate and preserve what was old and venerable. The calamities of a later period led, perhaps, to some relaxation in the prosecution of this study; though the names of Marini, Cancellieri, and Visconti, may wipe off much of this imputation. But the present pontiff,* having founded and richly furnished three classical museums,—the Egyptian, the Etruscan, and the Lateran, could not be supposed indifferent to that most akin to his own pursuits and most especially his own, he being the bishop to whom the preservation of the sacred monuments of his See officially belongs. Accordingly, he has enriched the Christian Museum beyond all his immediate predecessors; he has added to it seals, rings, plate, and books; and he has created in it a totally new department, already admirably fitted up, of old sacred paintings. This attention, on his part, has naturally excited a new ardor for the pursuit of corresponding application; and we believe we are not incorrect in saying, that this month will see the publication of the first number of a work, to be continued monthly, illustrative of the sacred archæology of Rome. It will begin with statues and bas-reliefs, will then proceed to works in ivory and metal, and so descend to paintings, and other objects of religious purpose and interest.

This brings us to the second of our prelim-

* Gregory XVI.

inary matters. It shall not be so prolix as our first. It is concerning the author of the pamphlet which we desire to make known to our readers. Father Secchi is professor of Greek in the Roman college belonging to the Society of Jesus. He is yet young; and though he has not published any large works, he has acquired no small reputation by his able philological and antiquarian essays, chiefly contained in the *Archæological Annals*, published by a German association in Rome, and in other periodicals of that city. In the prosecution of his Greek studies he has gone beyond the limits of ordinary attainments, and has made himself master of Sanskrit, as an auxiliary to his grammatical researches. Now he, with F. F. Marchi, Tessieri, and one or two other members of his order, is chief promoter and prosecutor of this extraordinary, most *Jesuitical*, plan of bringing before the public, and within the reach of all scholars, the ancient monuments of Christianity. So much for the supposition of Rome's interest lying in concealing the faith and practice of primitive times, and of the Jesuits being anxious to discourage such prying researches, and keeping the people in ignorance and subjection.

After what we have said, it will not surprise our readers to find a Christian inscription of the early centuries, discovered in France, travelling to Rome to be deciphered, nor to see Father Secchi's name on our pamphlet as its interpreter. We

shall pretend to do little more than follow him as our guide in this article.

The city of Autun, anciently *Bibracte*, afterwards *Augustodunum*, later, in compliment to the Flavii (Constantius Chlorus and Constantine), *Urbs Flavia*, finally called by the more enviable title of *Aedua Christi Civitas*, was celebrated, even under the early emperors, for its learning and schools. Under Constantius Chlorus, who called to teach in it the celebrated rhetorician, afterwards his panegyrist, Eumenius it was distinguished for its *scholæ Mænianæ*, a term perhaps not sufficiently explained. Christianity was early introduced into Autun, and soon took a vigorous root there. St. Benignus, its apostle, about the middle of the second century, found there a senatorial family already Christian. The head of this family was Faustus, who took advantage of the presence of the first missionaries, to have his son Symphorian baptized. The youth, under the instruction of his father, and of his mother Augusta, grew up a model of Christian virtue. Persecution soon came to try the stability of the infant Church. From Lyons the fury of the heathens spread to Autun; several of its apostles fell, and Faustus and his son were most assiduous in collecting their blood, and honoring their remains. At length the zeal of Symphorian could not be contained within such bounds: he insulted a public procession in honor of Cybele,

was arrested, condemned; and, encouraged by his pious mother, died with constancy.*

The usual refuge of the Christians in time of persecution was the cemeteries or tombs. The first assemblies of Christians at Autun were held in a cemetery on the public road, apart from the town. There in process of time several churches were built, of which the principal one was that of St. Peter: from it the cemetery is to this day called of *S. Pierre l' Estries* (*a via strata*). It became subsequently a place of devout pilgrimage; and, among others, St. Augustine, our apostle, St. Germanus, and St. Gregory of Tours, are recorded to have visited it. The French revolution finished what previous neglect had in part prepared,—the total destruction, or rather annihilation, of every vestige of monuments on this venerable spot. Still the cemetery exists, inasmuch as inscriptions and tombs are often brought to light, sufficient to determine the place and its destination. Of these inscriptions some are profane, so as to indicate the existence of a burial-place before the Christians occupied it. Others are Christian; and of these undoubtedly the most interesting is the one which forms the subject of our article. It was found in the month of June last year, by the worthy bishop of Autun, and the Abbé Découvoux, broken into nine fragments, of which two have not yet been found. The slab on which it is written bears the

* See the authorities for all these points, in an excellent article in the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, March, 1840.

marks of the metal cramps by which it was once fastened to a wall or tomb. To cut short all minute descriptions, we have thought it better at once to present our readers with an exact copy, made upon a tracing from the original, as well as from the engraving first published of it in Paris.

Fortunately, the first part of the inscription, which is the most interesting to us, is the best preserved. The *lacuna* in the first line alone presents any serious difficulty. We will therefore at once give the entire inscription, as restored by F. Secchi, and as translated by him into corresponding Latin verses, referring to his work for his acute philological observations. It is as follows:—

Ἰχθυος ο[ὐρανίου θε]ῖον γένος ἥτορι σεμνῷ
Χρῆσε λαλῶ[ν φωνὴ]ν ἀμβροτον ἐν βροτεοις.
Θεσπεσίων ὑδά[τω]ν τὴν σὴν, φίλε, θάπτε ψυχήν,
Ὕδασιν ἀενάοις πλουτοδότου σοφίης.
Σωτῆρος [δ'] ἁγίων μελιηδέα λάμβανε βρ[ῶμον],
Ἔσθιε, πῖνε δ[νοῖ]ν Ἰχθυν ἔχων παλάμαις.

Ἰχθυι χ[ηρεί]α [γ]αλιλαίῳ, δέσποτα Σῶτ[ερ],
Εὐειδῖ[ν] [μ]ητήρ σε, λίταζέ με, φῶς τὸ θανόντων.
Ἀσχάνδ[ρ]ιε [πα]τὲρ, τῷμῷ κε[χα]ρισμένε θυμῷ
Σὺν μ[ητρὶ γλυκερῇ, σίγε και δακρ]ύοισιν ἐμοῖσιν
Ι[λασθεὶς υἱοῦ σέυ] μνήσευ Πεκτορίοιο.

IXΘΥC, patre Deo Deus, immortalia, sancto
Mortales inter, corde locutus ait:
Rite sacris animâ sepelitor, amice, sub undis;
Dives ab æternis mente redibis aquis:
Sume cibum sanctis quem dat Servator alendis;
Mande, bibe, amplectens IXΘΥN utraque manu.

Orba viro mater Galilæo pisce, Redemptor,
Cernere te prece me petiit, lux luce carentûm
Aschandee pater, vita mihi carior ipsa,
Tu cum matre mea, nato lacrymante, piatus
Pectorii, pater, ipse tui memor esto precantis.

We must content ourselves with a further translation into humble English prose:—"The divine offspring of the heavenly ἰχθύς (fish) in his sacred heart, spoke among mortals with his immortal voice—'Bury, friend, thy soul in the divine waters, the eternal waters of richest wisdom; and take the sweet food of the holy, which the Saviour gives; eat, drink, having the ἰχθύς in both your hands.'

"Lord Saviour! the widow of a Galilean ἰχθύς, my mother, entreated me to enjoy the sight of Thee, light of the departed! Aschandeus, my father! dearest to my soul, thou, with my dear mother, by my tears expiated, remember thy son Pectorius."

The inscription is, in truth, an epigram, divided into two parts. The first contains three distichs of hexameters and pentameters; the second five hexameters. The subjects of the two parts are likewise quite distinct. The former has reference to the mysteries of faith; the latter is the epitaph, probably, of the mother of the erector of the monument. The first portion has another peculiarity. The five first verses are acrostic, their initials composing the word ΙΧΘΥΣ, of which we shall have to say a few words just now.

Before speaking of the doctrines contained in this epigram, it will be proper to say something concerning its age. The form of the letters, and some peculiarities in their disposition, induce F. Secchi to attribute to it a great antiquity. A further argument may be drawn from its language. The Greek Church of Autun may be said to have been almost destroyed by the persecutions which assailed it soon after its establishment; when peace was restored to Christianity there, under Constantius, it flourished again, but as a Latin Church. A Greek epigram, therefore, in elegant verses, may reasonably be attributed to the former period. The place where it was found likewise confirms this supposition. It was amidst fragments of walls, and Roman antiques, apparently of that earlier epoch. Several other considerations here come to our aid. First, the epithet *Galilean* is applied in the sense of Christian, to his father, by Pectorius. Now, this obliges us to consider the inscription anterior to the time of Julian the Apostate, by whom this epithet was rendered infamous, so as not to be thenceforth used by the Christians. Secondly, the dark and symbolical nature of the expressions, in speaking of the mysteries, indicates an earlier period of Christianity, when such reserve was more necessary. While upon this point, it will be desirable, perhaps, for some of our readers to be informed what is the meaning of the word which we have left untranslated, ἰχθύς, literally *a fish*. In thus preserving it

in its original language, we have only followed the example of the Latin fathers, who generally write it in Greek. Among the emblems upon Christian monuments, or rings, none is more common than a fish. Sometimes, instead of the representation, we have only the word written in large letters. There is no doubt that Christ is symbolized by the word or representation; still its origin is very doubtful. Three opinions concerning it prevailed in antiquity. The first was that it was derived from the fish of Tobias, which symbolized Christ, by its efficacy in curing spiritual and corporal ills. This seems to have been the opinion of Clement of Alexandria, who uses the compound term Καλλίχθυς. The second deduced this symbol from the circumstance that the name was produced acrostically in five sibylline verses, which applied to Christ. Constantine and St. Augustine give this reason. The third is furnished by several fathers, who resolve the letters of the word into so many other words, commencing with those letters. St. Optatus thus explains it: "Piscis nomen secundum appellationem Græcam, in uno nomine, per singulas literas, turbam sanctorum nominum continet. IXΘYC enim latina est Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator."* St Augustine writes much in the same manner: "Græcorum quinque verborum quæ sunt Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱος Σωτὴρ, quod est latine *Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator*, si primas literas jungas, erit

* Adv. Parmen. lib. iii.

ΙΧΘΥΣ, id est *piscis*, in quo nomine mystice intelligitur Christus."* It is possible that this acrostic explanation may have been an afterthought, to account for a symbol, whose origin was uncertain, and whose application was become problematic. Two things may, however, be added with tolerable certainty: that the term was occasionally even applied to Christians, and that the application was made with reference to their being born again of water. Hence the symbol, when found on a tomb has sometimes been supposed to indicate the sepulchre of a catechumen, or a neophyte. These two points, which are very useful in explaining our inscription, seem to be clearly ascertainable from the following words of Tertullian: "Nos pisciculi secundum ΙΧΘΥΝ nostrum Jesum Christum in aqua nascimur." † In our inscription we seem to have the term so applied to Aschandeus, the father of Pectorius. From the whole tenor of the inscription, we should conjecture him to have died just after baptism. In this way we can better account for the first part of the epitaph, containing a mention of Christ's twofold sacramental injunction—first, to be born again of water, and second, to eat of his flesh (baptism and the Eucharist being the two sacraments of new Christians); and thus we can explain the application of that mystical appellation to him. Let us now

* De Civ. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 23.

† De Baptismo, lib. ii. cap. ii. n. 2.

proceed to examine the dogmatical value of our inscription.

1. The two first lines, notwithstanding their *lacunæ*, give us a sufficiently clear testimony of the divine origin of the *Ichthus* or Christ, speaking as an immortal among mortals.

2. The second distich manifestly teaches the doctrine of baptism. The soul, and not the body, is commanded to be immersed in the sacred waters; those waters which bestow the gift of eternal life, and of choicest wisdom.

3. The third is still more interesting. "Take the honied food of saints, which your Saviour gives: eat, drink, having the IXΘYC [that is Christ] in both thy hands." In the foregoing distich the allusion to the symbol was couched under the invitation to plunge into the mystic waters; here the divine ἰχθύς is to be taken into the hands, and Himself, by one act, eaten and drunk. The reality of His presence could not be more clearly intimated in an inscription composed while the *disciplina arcani* was in full vigor, and forbade distinct allusion to what was contained and received in the blessed Eucharist. At the same time, an additional proof may be drawn of the completeness of the act which receives Christ under only one form. We have been struck, moreover, by the contrast between the expression of this early Christian poet and that of a modern Anglican one, of the school that pretends to have

returned to the pure doctrines of primitive Christianity.

> "O come to our communion feast:
> There present in the heart,
> *Not in the hands*, th' eternal Priest
> Will his true self impart."*

If we remember right, Mr. Froude criticizes this expression, asking how we know he was not *in the hands*, as well as in the heart. Our ancient Gallic Christian would have joined in the stricture, or rather has positively contradicted the assertion.

4. The great injury which the lower part of the stone has sustained, obliges us to be more cautious in drawing consequences from the inscription in that part. Still, whatever portion of the proposed restorations may be denied or questioned, these words remain sufficiently legible to admit of no doubt:—'Ασχάνδ[ε]ιε [πα]τὲρ τὠμῷ κε[χα]ρισμένε θυμῷ . . . μνήσεο Πεκτορίοιο:—"Father Aschandeus, dearest to my soul . . . remember Pectorius." We have clearly an appeal from the living to the dead, a prayer for remembrance from a son on earth to his parent in heaven.

5. If we admit the restorations, we must further add to the foregoing list, the power of expiating by the tears of the living the offences of the departed.

Our readers will, we are sure, admit that an inscription containing so many controverted points

* Keble's Christian Year, "Gunpowder Treason"

of doctrine, is a most valuable discovery. In fact we consider it the most precious Christian inscription yet brought to light.* It is the only one that alludes to the Eucharistic rite. One reflection will close our account of it. Every fresh discovery in primitive or early documents, connected with the Christian religion, adds something new to our proofs of doctrine, nothing to the opinions of our opponents. We have much on hand to demonstrate this, which fitter opportunity may be given us to communicate. Suffice it to say, that whether a last work of a father come to light by the learned and systematic excavations of the indefatigable Cardinal Mai, or a new inscription is casually turned up by a laborer's spade, in a Gallican cemetery, it will be sure to coincide in doctrine, in sentiment, and in phrase, with the belief and practice of the unfading, immortal Church.

[In this paper F. Secchi's interpretation is alone alluded to. When it was written, no other essays on the subject were accessible to me. Since that time, the principal ones have been condensed, and published by the finder, and first publisher of the inscription, Dom Pitra, a French Benedictine, in the first volume of his *Spicilegium Solesmense*. In June, 1839, this distinguished scholar accompanied Monseigneur d'Héricourt, bishop of Autun, to the cemetery mentioned in the text, and was fortunate enough to light upon six fragments of the inscription just dug up; and returning alone, and making diligent search, he discovered a seventh,

* [Others scarcely less interesting and useful have been since discovered.]

small, but important fragment; for it contained the name of the person who had it erected.

He shortly after published the inscription, with his own observations, under the signature of L. J. C.

The second commentary was that of F. Secchi, given in this essay. Don Pitra censures it, for arbitrarily altering letters, which are clear enough on the original marble, in order to suit his conjectural readings. The most remarkable cases are his substituting *λαλῶν* for *λαβὼν*; *θάπτε* for *θάλπεο*.

Dr. Franz and Dr. Windischmann supply the two next commentaries, each of whom, as well as Borret, threw some additional light on some phrases.

The Rev. Christopher Wordsworth gave likewise an interpretation, in which the scholar and the Protestant balance one another. As the second part of the inscription according to every other commentary, implied a prayer of Pectorius to his father Aschandeus, no longer among the living, it came, as a matter of course, that, at all expense, so unprotestant an idea should be got rid of. This is attempted to be done in two ways. First, the canon of Westminster pronounces the second part of the inscription to be later, by several centuries, than the first; although it is impossible to look at the engraving of the stone, which D. Pitra pronounces to be most accurate, without seeing that the whole was cut at one time. The size, form, and disposition of the letters, are identical in both parts. Let any one compare particular letters, for example M, Φ, Ψ, Υ, in the two portions, or the introduction of cursive letters in each, and see if it is possible to maintain that centuries intervened between the sculpturing of the two parts. Further, Dr. W. arbitrarily changes words and letters, which are as plain as a pikestaff (to use a homely phrase); such as *Ασχάνδιε*, into *Ἀθάνατον*; so as to get rid of any chance of an invocation. To pronounce anything unscholarlike which proceeds from so learned a Hellenist as the canon of Westminster, might sound an anomaly; but the alternative to which one is driven is more painful, though not startling to any one who has watched his controversial career.

A short essay by Fred Dübner closes the series. But we must not omit to add one more commentator to the list, our late, and deeply-lamented Dr. Lingard. On the publication of the article in the *Review*, he was much struck by the beauty and value of the inscription, and he gave it, with his own notes, in the fifth volume of the *Catholic Magazine* (Jan. 1841). His conjectural readings of some of the hiatuses agree with those of some of the eminent critics cited in this note. For example, in the second line he proposes to fill up with πῃ ἰὼν, with Franz and Windischmann, both of whom wrote long after him. Several letters from him, to a friend on this subject now lie before me, and prove how truly interested he felt in this valuable Christian monument.]

END OF VOL. V.

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